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Poland's Olechowski Addresses CSCE Talks

AU2401144789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 89 p 8

[Speech by Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski at the 18 January CSCE session in Vienna]

[Text] Mr Chairman! Almost a quarter of a century has passed since 14 December 1964, when Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, speaking from the rostrum of the 19th UNGA session, proposed a conference of 35 states to examine issues of European security in their entirety. The dialogue that commenced soon afterwards eventually became a comprehensive CSCE process. This process, which was not free from difficulties and obstacles, has become a permanent factor in shaping the situation in Europe and in East-West relations.

The Helsinki conference assured the all-European process of continuity and a democratic and comprehensive nature that transcends the bloc divisions. There was the beginning of a return not only to the values that history and traditions have bequeathed to us as a joint heritage, but also a search for new forms and structures that would assure Europe of stability and security at a reduced cost, and encourage the overcoming of the divisions that took place during the cold war era. We have made considerable progress along this road. Further steps along it were marked by the meetings of representatives of our countries in Belgrade and Madrid, and by the Stockholm conference, which worked out the first all-European agreement on confidence- and security-building measures. Now the resolutions of the Vienna meeting are imparting a qualitatively new status mainly to the military and human dimension of the CSCE process.

We in Poland do not doubt that the Vienna document contains a major political potential, one capable of reviving European cooperation. It is encouraging the process of positive changes that Europe has recently been experiencing. It gives concrete shape to several principles and suggestions. It confirms a renewed type of thinking in terms of Europe as a whole. This document means the gradual abandonment of a divided Europe in favor of a Europe that is united by supreme social interests, in which cultural and political pluralism is the source of a mutual increase in strength and a stimulant for progress. This is what we in Poland are aiming toward.

The decisions reached in Vienna are an expression of the dynamism of the CSCE process. Some solutions are innovative, unprecedented in Europe's postwar history. Their painstaking implementation is going to require positive political will from all of us and an ability to view things, as well as ourselves, in a critical way.

Esteemed delegates! It is not my intention to classify the adopted decisions according to importance, because all of them contribute toward the document's internal equilibrium and harmony. However, they include decisions that are particularly important for the security of our states and peoples, and for that of Europe as a whole.

I have in mind especially the start of the CSCE talks on reducing conventional armed forces and arms. The parallel talks on security- and confidence-building measures permit the achievement of a radical and permanent breakthrough in the military sphere in Europe. The recent USSR decisions on profound unilateral reductions are an additional source of positive impulses.

Poland will proceed to the negotiations with a desire to see to it that the first meaningful agreement is worked out as quickly as possible. Our country has put forth concrete proposals in this sphere. They are contained in the plan presented by Wojciech Jaruzelski to reduce arms and increase confidence in central Europe. The postulates and suggestions it contains may help find the best compromise solutions on the basis of reciprocity, in the joint goal of eliminating military threats from our continent.

Poland attaches major importance to a start in dialogue on the subject of military doctrines and their political and military-technical aspects, so that doctrines, strategies, and concepts can assume a strictly defensive nature. We believe that this would serve to remove the mistrust toward intentions and to create additional stimuli for disarmament negotiations. We also said so in the Jaruzelski plan. We declare our readiness to take part in initiatives.

A desire to respect human rights in every sphere — political and civic liberties; and economic, social, and cultural rights—was expressed in that part [not further specified] dealing with the principles that govern relations between the 35 CSCE states and in the decisions governing humanitarian cooperation. A permanent mechanism of dialogue and constructive cooperation in these matters was created. I wish to assure you that Poland's constructive participation will not be lacking.

We have been and will continue to make our politics subordinate to the truth that autarchic or closed societies are an anarchronism in today's world, and contrary to the tendency to integrate human civilization and make use of its achievements. We also understand the need to show mutual interest in implementing human rights, and even to voice justified criticism, although we warn against a possible abuse of these rights. A truly revolutionary process of social integration is occurring in Poland. We perceive the communion of political and economic reforms as a source of renewed strength for our Republic. This is not an easy path, but we will not run out of determination. A harmonious development of the CSCE process will encourage the implementation of our objectives.

The Vienna resolutions conform to the general tendency to democratize and consolidate the place and role of the extragovernmental units and organizations in the CSCE process. They also conform to our policy of socializing relations with foreign countries. We believe that the new decisions on human rights and liberties, contacts between people, and the exchange of culture and information constitute qualitative progress. They create the chance to make our relationships more human, to the advantage of every individual.

The document confirms the desire of the participating countries to reinforce the economic pillars of cooperation. However, we believe that objective needs are greater than edited decisions. New challenges are being heaped up in the spheres of economics, ecology, and technology. They might be a threat, but they might also help solve numerous development problems and resolve differences between our interests. Poland, for example, is not indifferent to whether West European integration leads to an openness toward the world or rather toward an egoistic closing of doors. We are counting on having the first of these possibilities prevail, for the sake of all 35 participants in our Helsinki process. Today we in Poland are already doing much through our policy of openness to consolidate this very trend in Europe. Only together can we effectively tackle acute problems and threats such as the expanding technological gap, debts, environmental threats, and so on. We are confident that in the immediate future the CSCE process will also prove equal to these tasks, and that it will not only prevent a separation of the two parts of the continent but will also cause a qualitative rapprochement.

We are pleased that the final document reflects the need to make sure that internal legislation conforms to the norms and principles of CSCE and international law. This is a key issue from the point of view of the effectiveness of the agreements. Otherwise, the documents adopted during the all-European process might be declarations not having any standing.

Mr Chairman! The Vienna document is the common property of all of us, not only because it is the fruit of our joint activity and because each of us will find a trace of his own ideas and propositions in it, but also because we all share responsibility for its implementation. This is a responsibility toward the societies whose aspirations are expressed in the document. It is in this very body of 35 states that we can start to form a worldwide community of law-abiding states.

I wish to assure you that Poland will carefully implement the adopted commitments. We will review existing legal regulations to see whether they conform to the new instructions. Amendments will be made where necessary, and we expect other countries to do the same.

In accordance with the decision reached here, the honor of hosting a symposium on protecting our joint cultural heritage falls on Krakow. I wish to assure you that we will do all we can to create the best possible conditions for this symposium, in accordance with the practice that has been applied to CSCE meetings.

Mr Chairman! Europe remains at the center of Polish foreign policy's political philosophy and practical activity. This is not only for geographical and political reasons, because culturally and socially, the Poles have for thousands of years felt that they are part of Europe. The nation developed by adopting the best features of Eastern and Western culture and thought. Our social consciousness cherishes such inseparable European features as a love of freedom, tolerance, democratism, and humanism.

The idea of a "common European home" is a signpost for our efforts. We consider the CSCE process to be the foundation of this home. Every European country, plus the United States and Canada, should take part in building it. The CSCE process is passing their practical test. We want the subsequent stages of the CSCE process to result in new, significant agreements. For example, it is already worth thinking about how to make the "second basket" more attractive and to increase its status. Perhaps it is worth incorporating this "basket" into the regional cooperation that forms part of the UN system.

We will achieve a better tomorrow for Europe by restructuring military relations, reestablishing natural economic bonds, reviving cultural values, and bringing societies closer together. The foundation for this work is the existing territorial and political order, confirmed in the Final Act, and the code of national conduct contained in the declaration on the subject of the principles governing relations between the participating states.

We share the view that there is no point in creating new structures where existing structures are not being fully used. Therefore, we believe that it would serve our joint cause well if existing institutions like the Council of Europe were to acquire a fully Europe-wide nature.

Finally, one last thought. The changes in the world are gathering speed. One can see this in the qualitatively new phenomena that are taking place in East-West relations, especially between the USSR and United States. The prospects for settling regional conflicts have improved. The UN system has strengthened. Therefore, we have to be careful that the world around us does not outpace the Helsinki process. The changes are taking place faster and more energetically than diplomats can adapt the process of negotiations to the expectations of our 35 states. Now is the time to consider together the possibilities of increasing the effectiveness of these talks and to give them a more rational and transparent nature.

Mr Chairman! Soon our delegations will leave Vienna. We are leaving with a feeling of sincere gratitude toward our Austrian hosts. Warm hospitality surrounded us, and I would like to thank you for this.

The meeting has put Vienna on the map of the Helsinki process. This city is connected with an important stage in the development of the CSCE, a stage full of decisions.

SFRY's Loncar Meets Counterparts in Vienna

LD1901000489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, held bilateral meetings with the foreign ministers of Austria, the FRG, Sweden, Poland, Spain, and Finland while taking part in the final session of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

Besides exchanging views during the CSCE conference, the federal secretary particularly examined further possibilities for improving relations between Yugoslavia and the EFTA community with Finnish Minister Sorsa, Swedish Minister Andersson, and Austrian Vice Chancellor Mock. Loncar also discussed bilateral cooperation with them.

The federal secretary also discussed strengthening relations between Yugoslavia and the EEC with Spanish Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez—who currently presides over the EEC—especially following the recent establishment of a political dialogue.

During the meeting with FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, the federal secretary touched on the question of introducing visas for Yugoslav citizens, which has been discusseed lately by part of the West German press. The federal secretary reiterated the well-known stand of the Yugoslav side, expressed in the recent letter to Minister Genscher, and he once again pointed out that such a unilateral act would burden the present cooperation on both sides, especially in the area of tourism. This would also go against the current process of opening up and the liberalization of contacts in Europe and the world, Loncar stressed.

Foreign Minister Genscher expressed understanding for the Yugoslav stands, and stressed that he conveyed the foreign secretary's letter to competent and interested West German quarters. He also said that there is no decision that would nullify the present agreement between the two countries.

The two ministers assessed the CSCE meeting as a process that undoubtedly leads to further rapprochement in Europe. Federal Secretary Loncar informed Foreign Minister Genscher about the most topical trends within the Nonaligned Movement and with the concept of its modernization and more rational and efficient activity in contemporary international conditions.

The talks between Loncar and Polish Foreign Minister Olechowski assessed joint bilateral relations as very good and as improving. Foreign Minister Olechowski informed the federal secretary of the latest reforms in his country.

Albanian Balkan Committee Chairman Interviewed

AU3001151389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Jan 89 p 6

[Interview with Dhimiter Shuteriqi, chairman of the Albanian Committee on Balkan Cooperation, by Mariya Netsova, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent: "Peace and Understanding Are Equally Needed by All"—in Tirana, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Netsova] Perhaps the most humane duty of every writer and public figure is to raise his voice and devote forces, time, and knowledge to the noble idea of friendship among nations. This is especially important on our small Balkan "planet," where the walls of hostility and alienation are being destroyed and the fresh breeze of understanding, peaceful mutual relations, and a goodneighborly atmosphere can be felt. What are the goals of the Albanian Committee on Balkan Cooperation, which you lead?

[Shuteriqi] Several years ago there were several committees that wanted to facilitate positive relations among the Balkan nations. However, their activity quieted down during a certain period. One of the ideas raised by our country at the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, (which took place in February 1988—editorial note), was to revive these committees. Thus, the Committee on Balkan Cooperation was revived in Albania. It includes noted public figures and prominent representatives from the fields of science, arts, and literature.

The first contacts that took place were with the Bulgarian Committee on Balkan Understanding and Cooperation. Your country demonstrated a great responsiveness in this enterprise. Now we are striving to establish contacts with the other Balkan committees, and where they do not exist, with other similar organizations. For example, the activists of the peace movement in Greece and the adherents to the republican principles in Turkey have goals that are close to the goals of Balkan cooperation.

We aim to strengthen goodneighborly relations among the Balkan nations and to encourage mutual acquaintance and becoming closer by expanding cultural, economic, and political relations on the basis of mutual interest.

This interest exists, and it must acquire specific dimensions. You know that contradictions, animosity, and conflicts, which are remnants of the past, exist in the Balkans. However, we must understand that peace and understanding are equally needed by all. [passage omitted]

[Netsova] Comrade Shuteriqi, let us return to the present. As you know, during the meeting of the high-ranking representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries that took place last year in Sofia, it was decided that Tirana will host a future meeting of the committees on understanding and cooperation in the Balkans. How do you prepare for this event?

[Shuteriqi] This meeting will take place in the fall, and the first step toward it, as I already said, is to establish contacts among the Balkan committees. Contacts with Bulgaria have already been established. The goal of this forum, that will take place in Tirana, is to facilitate positive understanding among the Balkan nations, and to reveal new and broad areas of cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Netsova] Are you familiar with Bulgaria's policy and its foreign policy initiatives related to the creation of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans?

[Shuteriqi] Bulgaria conducts an open policy. Albania does not have nuclear weapons, and as long as it exists, it will not create such a threat.

District People's Councils Hold Meetings

AU3101103889 [Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 26 January carries on page 3 reports on meetings of the People's Councils of the districts of Durres, Tepelene, Lezhe, and Mirdite.

A 900-word report by Fatmir Thaci describes a meeting of Durres District People's Council on 25 January, attended by Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, at which Isak Shehu, chairman of the People's Council Executive Committee, presented the report "on the fulfillment of the 1988 plan and budget and the main tasks of the draft plan and draft budget for the development of the economy and culture of the district in 1989." The report states that "in the year that has just ended, many achievements were recorded by many working collectives of the district. Targets were met and exceeded in the coal and chemical industries, road haulage, geological prospecting, and so on." According to the report, "Comrade Rita Marko drew attention to certain branches and sectors of the economy that ended the year with nonfulfillments of the plan, such as construction and rail transportation, and to shortfalls in some agricultural and animal products."

A 600-word report by Shkelqim Hajno describes a meeting of the People's Council of Tepelene District, date not given. The report states that "the people's council dwelt on the problems of developing stockraising and particularly on strengthening the specialist stockraising economies which are important for this district. Particularly fruitful work was carried out in sheep farming last year. The sheep milk plan was overfulfilled by 7 percent. The number of head of small livestock was increased by

12,000. However, despite efforts in all agricultural economies, especially those specializing in livestock, the milk plan was fulfilled by only 86.2 percent and the meat plan by 87.5 percent. There were also notable shortfalls in egg production."

A 500-word report by Kujtim Dashi describes a meeting of the People's Council of Lezhe District, date not given. The report states that "the People's Council dwelt especially on shortfalls in industry and agriculture which show that the standard of work and level of mobilization of working people, cadres, and specialists are still not high enough, for they were unable to rise to the difficult situations and conditions that occurred in agriculture in particular. The meeting pointed out that the reasons for these shortfalls were mostly of a subjective nature, and that the standard of management and direction, working methods, and the supervision and resupervision of the performance of duties exerted a particular influence."

A 700-word report by Gjergj Marku describes a meeting of the People's Council of Mirdite District, date not given. The report states that "the achievements of 1988, such as the fulfillment of the general industrial production plan and the blister copper and refined copper plans, and the meeting of targets in geological and industrial reserves and in some agricultural products, and so on, should not be used as a 'veil' to conceal defects and shortcomings." According to the report, "it was said at the meeting that there are signs of complacency with plan fulfillment in mere bulk, but few enterprises meet the targets that are most important for the district. Many managers were held to account for creating shortfalls in some products, where targets were only 47 percent met. The transportation pool has presented many enterprises with obstacles. The shortfall in mineral transportation last year alone would be able to keep the Rreshen copper enrichment plant supplied for more than 1 year."

Zhivkov Condolences on Polish Official's Death

AU3001115189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 89 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of Poland's State Council, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, a message expressing most sincere condolences on the death of Jozef Cyrankiewicz, former chairman of Poland's State Council and Council of Ministers.

Ovcharov Interviewed on Economic Reform

AU0102085789 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 30 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, and Ivan Angelov, doctor of economic sciences and senior scientific fellow, by Atanas Dimov, "freelance journalist," given during a news conference held on 12 January 1989 in Sofia—"prepared for publication" by Evgeni Petrov]

[Text] On 12 January 1989 a news conference was held at the restaurant club of the Bulgarian Journalists Union in Sofia which was participated in by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, and a group of experts, on the occasion of the publication of Decree No 56 on economic activity issued by the State Council. The news conference lasted over 2 and ½ hours. Dozens of questions were asked and answered. We can say that the tactics and strategy of the effect exerted by the decree was touched upon, and the first months of its application and the further development and perfection of the legal basis of the company-based organizations' operations were discussed. These topics were amply covered by numerous mass media. From the tape recording we made during the news conference we selected the questions asked by freelance journalist Atanas Dimov and the answers given by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, and by Ivan Angelov, senior scientific fellow and doctor of economic sciences. We selected this particular portion of the news conference, guided by the consideration that the answers given to these questions did not touch upon specific aspects of the effect exerted by the decree, but, along with Comrade Stoyan Ovcharov's introductory statement, explained the reasons that made it necessary to issue such a document, its role in the process of implementing the party's July Concept, and its conformity with the further development of socialism in our country. The following edited version of these questions and answers is limited to omitting repetitions and to the correction of minor inaccuracies of style.

Atanas Dimov: I have a few questions:

Why was the decree not submitted for nationwide debate and discussion? Would this not have been better?

The decree was reportedly submitted to several people for their remarks. What kind of remarks are these, and were they taken into consideration when compiling the final version of the document and when submitting it for publication?

Not only Marx and Engels, but Lenin as well, pointed out on several occasions that private property means exploitation of man by man, and has nothing in common with socialism. We are supposed to develop private property, however. In this connection, do dividends represent a working income?! What would you say about the future of socialism?

You said that the company-based organization is about to start operating, while the decree stipulates that a code of regulations should first be issued by the Council of Ministers. When will this code of regulations be published and how will it be compiled? Will it also be compiled behind closed doors? Why not submit it for public discussion so that people may express their opinions?

One last question: The decree says, and you stressed this again in your statement, that self-management would be established. What kind of self-management will this be, since everything is decided at a higher level? The managing board of the company is determined—by whom is it determined?—by the share-holders' votes. The shareholders will elect the managing board. This is one thing. Now, about the subsidiary companies. Their managing boards will be established through the higher-placed company which nominates one half plus one members of the subsidiary company's managing board. What kind of self-management are we talking about in connection with enterprises today? I think that this is the end of self-management.

Stoyan Ovcharov: I would like, first of all, to answer your question about the future of socialism. There is no doubt whatsoever that the measures we have adopted in implementing the July Concept are aimed at creating much better conditions for the development of socialism. Socialism should not only be proclaimed, but implemented and protected, it should demonstrate its advantages. These advantages most effectively manifest themselves in all actions and in the results they produce. All the rest would be nothing but a platonic declaration about socialism being a progressive social system. Thus, we have not deviated even an inch from the postulates of socialism. The opposite is true: Socialism is being further invigorated with a new source of strength; a new set of instruments has been created for the implementation of its principles and goals.

As for your other questions: Perhaps all of the preparatory work accomplished in connection with the economic decree is not entirely known. I would like to explain that the decree was subjected to exceptionally detailed, preliminary, theoretical, and practical work which began immediately following the July Plenum. As a result of this, the preparations for the decree went on for almost 2 years. The fact that all this preparatory work was not listed under the rubric of "preparations for a decree" does not change anything about the heart of the matter. A series of discussions with experts and scientists took place in the final stage of preparing the decree. Approximately 200 managers of economic organizations were asked to submit their notes and to participate in the discussion. Additional consultations took place within the Commission on Socioeconomic Policy attached to the BCP Central Committee and within the Legislation Council under the State Council. Discussions with scientific workers were also conducted. I can assure you that the most brilliant and most experienced intellects, the elite of the Bulgarian nation, and all those who had anything to do with the matter were involved in the preparation of the aforementioned document.

It is true that the decree was not submitted for nationwide discussion, but this was not required by the goals of the decree, and it was not possible to do so since its fundamental, theoretical, and practical principles were already submitted for nationwide discussion. As a matter of fact, the decree sums up this wealth of ideas.

As for your question, whether the notes submitted on the decree have been considered, I must tell you that if all these notes had been used, the decree would never have been published, since many of the remarks mutually excluded each other. If the decree had appeared in such a form, it would have been useless. However, I can assure you that all remarks that corresponded to the basic goals and intentions stemming from our fundamental, theoretical postulates were taken into consideration. Everything that was useful and valuable was taken into account. Even 1 day before the decree was published, certain corrections, considered expedient, were made at the last moment.

As for the question of private property, I dare ask you: Where does the term "private property" appear in the decree? A property acquired by the citizen of a socialist state who lives according to socialist laws is first of all socialist property, and only then everything else.

Atanas Dimov: This is a new opinion. It is not mentioned in Lenin's works.

Stoyan Ovcharov: We should discuss these questions with great calm; we should not allow economic activities to be restricted to certain strictly defined categories such as state property, cooperative property, or property belonging to social organizations. We should create all opportunities so that initiative, even the initiative of private citizens, may be useful to society.

As for the question about when the code of regulations on the application of the economic decree will be ready, I would like to say that its draft has been prepared. What is stipulated in the code of regulations? Under no circumstances will it be a repetition of the decree. The code of regulations will settle only two issues. First, the prerogatives established by the Council of Ministers' decree. The second set of questions will be: Wherever the decree contains postulates based on basic principles, but the necessity of their technological specification, according to responsibilities and timeschedules emerges, they will be settled by the code of regulations. Nevertheless, the code of regulations should not produce any new postulates or accessory amendments to the decree, since any attempt to reach beyond the two aforementioned ranges of questions is likely to establish a new normative base, which the decree does not permit.

Let us talk about self-management. If you read the decree you will notice that it says: the companies implement their activities in accordance with the self-management principle. Self-management remains untouched as a postulate. The question is only that the mechanisms of the self-management principle are much more fully and more accurately applied in accordance with the objective conditions under which we are working at the present stage of our development. We should not permit a company—regardless of whether it is state-owned, public, cooperative, or a private citizen's company—to invest its financial resources, and we should not permit them to subsequently entirely hand these resources and their effectiveness over to other organizations or other people. This is why the decree protects the interests of those who have invested their resources in a given enterprise. Anything else would mean that we are talking about interests, but have actually failed to establish objective prerequisites for the implementation and protection of such interests. This is why the question of self-management should be fully clarified. We do not give up self-management. The opposite is true: We consolidate the principles of self-management under economic conditions. I think that these were all your questions. Perhaps Comrade Angelov would like to add something....

Senior scientific fellow Dr Ivan Angelov: Let me say a few words about a question related to political economy with a rather strong social connotation which Comrade Dimov just asked, namely, the question of private property. Look, if we go on expecting Marx, Engels, and Lenin to tell us how to build our present lives, it would be difficult to achieve any substantial progress, the more so because Marx and Engels never claimed to provide a full and detailed picture of a future socialist society. We should rather consider the real facts that trip us up in daily life and, proceeding from the methodological principles provided by the classic authors, we should continue to build our present, new home. We should not always look for quotations from the classic authors in order to decide whether we can do this or that. I was asked this morning about the meaning of the concept "creative thought." I could not answer this question. Then it was explained to me that it is the idea expressed in connecting two quotations from the classics. Unfortunately, creative thought did not exist in our country for a long time. The property which Comrade Dimov considers private, namely a citizen's company, even if it is called a small private property, does not determine the economic and social image of our society. Production relations in every society are determined by the prevailing form of property. Personal and private property has existed in all societies as a concomitant element, as an economic satellite, and has always been strongly marked by the basic production relations existing in a given society.

Atanas Dimov: This form of property will become stronger....

Ivan Angelov: It cannot become stronger, Comrade Dimov, because these small economic units will pay taxes and dance to the music of the socialist state, in the interest of society.

Second, let us examine the question of dividends. We are used to saying that only wages can be considered as labor income, although this is not true. Thousands of people in our country, and even more, are earning incomes that can by no means be considered labor wages because they have not worked for them. Comrade Dimov, we two are fellow countrymen, as a matter of fact. Let us imagine that we are both working together somewhere. You and I have both saved 10,000 leva each. I preferred to purchase some furniture or to take an excursion abroad, while you have saved your money and have purchased labor shares with this money. In what way is my behavior, since I have decided to consume my income, more socialist than yours? Can your behavior be called not related to labor or even capitalist, just because you are a thrifty person and have purchased labor shares with your money, and will obtain an additional, annual income amounting to 1,000 leva or more? Is there anything wrong with you because you have saved money for socially useful purposes, and have thus increased your affiliation to the company?

Atanas Dimov: This is not socialism! (spontaneous laughter is heard from the audience).

Ivan Angelov: ...All right, if we equate socialism with the situation in our country today, namely with a shortage of goods, empty shops, and numerous other things, we are on the wrong path. All these things have nothing in common with socialism.

Last, but not least, let us say a few things about self-management. Comrade Dimov says that we are regressing. The opposite is true: I think that we were somehow prisoners of self-management romanticism in the recent past. In my opinion, only those who have a direct and realistic approach to property can, should, and deserve to be granted self-management. It is easy for me, indeed, to carry out management functions and to practice self-management, namely to dispose of property that does not belong to me, and to let others, namely the owners of the property, bear the consequences of my actions.

[Following paragraph is newspaper-attributed]

We are deliberately refraining from taking a stand at the end of this publication. Any emphasis would be a sign that the answers to the questions asked need an additional commentary, an explanation, or defense. This, in our opinion, is totally unnecessary!

1989 Agriculture Development Plan Reviewed

AU2501135689 Sofia BTA in English
1309 GMT 25 Jan 89

["Agriculture in 1989"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Current task of the Bulgarian agriculture in 1989 are the considerable structural changes. Their aim is to provide a transition toward qualitatively new level of the development of this branch. The measures envisaged in the plan for 1989 are only the beginning, in fact, because they will be complemented in accordance with the resolutions of the expected plenum of the CC of the BCP on the questions of agriculture. The envisaged structural changes are oriented toward resolution of the most important provision problems.

In the sphere of plant breeding it is envisaged to develop the production of grain with priority. It must reach 9.5 million [metric] tons and it must provide the necessary grain for bread at the necessary quality. The areas producing maize, soy beans, pea, lucerne should be increased during the year in order to solve the the protein problem. Vegetable growing will also undergo accelerated development, especially hot-house productions. The aim is to provide all-year round satisfaction of the needs of the population of fresh fruits and vegetables as well as the needs of the food industry for resources. The establishing of 50 thousand hectares of irrigated areas is envisaged.

In the sphere of stock breeding the chief efforts will be oriented toward the restoration of the number of farm animals. To that end will be preserved the suitable offsprings. The share of individual sector in stock breeding will be increased and additional quantities of fodder will be provided from the state fodder balance. Financial facilitations will be established for the broader breeding in home-farms of pigs and poultry, in order to increase the production of meat.

This year starts the general structural and technological innovation in food industry. To this end are organized consortiums with leading foreign companies. The innovation includes all spheres. In the sphere of milk-industry, for instance, the stress is laid on the decentralization of the processing of milk and the production of new kinds of dairy products. Greater variety is provided in the processing of meat. Measures are undertaken for more complete satisfaction of the market's needs of children's foods—through broadening and updating of the production capacities.

The ambitious tasks in the sphere of agriculture will be resolved through accelerated transference of new and intensified technologies and through the provision of enough agricultural machines and equipment. The application of the new forms of organization in the production also broadens and conditions are created for the system for buying agricultural products in order to secure its complete utilization.

Among the important measures for improvement of the organization of labour in agriculture are the changes in the statute of farming teams with the aim to create conditions for increase of the production of grain and meat in individual farms. The practice in Bulgaria has shown that as a result of the greater cares and efforts of individual farmers in the production of grain, especially maize, their yield is considerably bigger—by 20-30 kg per hectare more than the yield of state farms. The maximum size of the land for individual farmers was increased. Specialists think that thus will be improved the opportunities for securing of fodder for individual farms. Instead of 0.2 hectares at present the limit is 0.5 hectares, and when the conditions are dry and hard to irrigate—0.8, and in the mountainous regions—1.5 hectares. There is an obligatory condition that 80 per cent of the land should be for growing grain—chiefly maize. Farmers will be able to obtain greater areas of land if they undertake to breed farm animals in their individual farms. For the entire country the land made available to individual farmers is more than 900,000 hectares, which makes 300,000 hectares more in comparison to 1988. The area of grain cultures in personal farms will increase by 276,800 hectares.

Officer Writes on Enhancing Army Discipline

AU2501193589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 24 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lieutenant General Lyubcho Toshkov: "Topical Requirements for Discipline, Enhancing Its Role and Importance in the Bulgarian People's Army"]

[Excerpts] The processes of restructuring and innovation which are underway in our country and within the Bulgarian People's Army in connection with the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 13th BCP Congress and the 16th All-Army BCP Conference, and particularly in relation to the decisions of the 1987 July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, cast a new light on the question of discipline, and of Army discipline in particular, enhancing its role and significance to an exceptional degree.

The 13th BCP Congress launched the slogan: "Order, discipline, and responsibility." This most accurately reflects the great requirements for qualitative restructuring in all spheres and in all places.

The BCP Central Committee report to the congress stated among other things: "The struggle for strengthening discipline and for enhancing responsibility in our work should be pursued with unrelenting efforts." If this slogan can legitimately and appropriately be applied to our socialist society, it can then also be applied to an even greater extent to armed forces and to the Bulgarian People's Army in particular, where discipline is the basic element of all activities. Discipline should be practiced in all official duties, in daily work, in financial matters, as well as in military and state affairs.

This is why in implementing party decisions, the leaderships of the Ministry of National Defense and of the People's Army Main Political Administration devote particular attention to the question of discipline within the Bulgarian People's Army and to the awareness of its essential meaning, adopting practical measures for the constant improvement of methods and style in the work of commanders, political organs, party, and Komsomol organizations in connection with the accomplishment of this exceptionally important task.

Discipline acquires a new meaning in the present circumstances. Its criteria for evaluation are no longer confined to rank and file discipline, obedience to instructions, and the soldier's appearance. The discipline in units and subunits depends on numerous factors today. It applies, above all, to the style and methods of leadership; to the state of organization in work, and to discipline according to the statute; to political-educational work; to the psychological atmosphere within the collectives at all levels; to the modernization of material-technical equipment, and so forth. Last but not least, the state of the Army's combat readiness, the combat and political training of the Army personnel, and the technical standards of the armaments and equipment are considered basic criteria for Army discipline. Discipline can be effectively influenced through the implementation of all these real social processes and phenomena. Naturally, leaders of all ranks should focus their attention on human beings, namely on the individual soldier with all his needs, education, training, and sense of personal responsibility, since the soldier is the one to whom the requirements of discipline apply. [passage omitted]

This is precisely why psychology and military science should be the chief guidelines in the activities of Army educators, whose tasks Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, described as follows: "He, (the commander) should be a party functionary, who is profoundly convinced that he is working for a just cause, a soldier who implements the party principles and party policy in the Army.... The commander plays the principal and decisive role in strengthening order and discipline."

This is the approach to work toward which we are trying to orient the entire command staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, especially the young officers. All the remaining educational elements, such as strictness, encouragement, punishment, and social impact should focus on this task. [passage omitted]

The major assignment today is to emphasize priority on individual work with people. Formalism in training and in patriotic, as well as military education of Army personnel should be resolutely overcome. For this purpose we should unconditionally rely on the assistance of democracy, on sensible glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism, avoiding all deviations from the principles of democratic centralism and one-man command in the Bulgarian People's Army.

The leaderships of the Ministry of National Defense and the People's Army's Main Political Administration, as well as the leading bodies of units and groups of units, in 1988, promoted more effective and expedient measures aimed at improving discipline, generally speaking, and discipline according to the statute. The material facilities and practical conditions for organizing and performing military duties, for the organization and implementation of a high quality and effective training process have decisively improved. Commanders of all ranks are trying to make their work successful by optimally using the daily training hours which in some units and groups of units are so religiously observed that they have almost became a "cult," which is totally justified.

Along with enhancing the role and importance of discipline and despite undoubted successes achieved in this sector, some serious shortcomings and failures exist in this respect, and the frequency of certain major accidents, even involving the loss of human lives, has unfortunately become a permanent trend. The same applies to violations of the rules of behavior in relations between military personnel. Despite the fact that discipline within the Bulgarian People's Army guarantees the implementation of the tasks assigned, it does not fully conform with the enhanced requirements of the BCP Central Committee, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army. It does not conform with the requirements of the era in which we live and work. [passage omitted]

Regardless of how solemnly we avow our willingness to restructure, and pledge that this restructuring process will proceed at last, that there will be a radical change for the better in discipline, and that deviations from correct discipline, as well as certain other, negative phenomena will be eliminated, we should be clearly aware that as long as we do not reveal the fundamental causes of these negative phenomena and name those who are responsible for them, we will not be able to eliminate such shortcomings. Appeals and general phraseology will not bring about the desired drastic change. It is necessary to examine ourselves and to begin with our own mistakes. Compulsory methods are not likely to produce any lasting results either, but the statute requires that a commander reacts to the actions of his subordinates and it is his duty to make them fulfill their obligations.

Let us take certain existing phenomena, such as unfriendly relations and alcoholic abuse as examples. They confirm the fact that we have not fully revealed and totally eliminated the causes of such phenomena, that we have failed to nip them in their bud. The causes are numerous and most of the violations and accidents are of a subjective nature, always based on failures in implementing tasks, or on encroachments against rules.

The struggle against negative phenomena is accompanied by another negative phenomenon in Army life—namely the efforts of certain commanders and chiefs to cover up existing violations. Sometimes we learn about them through quite different channels, instead of being informed by reports of the respective commanders.

This is the reason why, as Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, pointed out at the 16th All-Army BCP Conference, the new meaning of the concept of discipline should be pursued through the following actions: "By declaring war on distortions, shortcomings, and failures through the expansion of vast democracy and glasnost under Army conditions, we should make a cult of military discipline and transform it into an essential feature of our methods and style of work, of our commanding-organizational activities." [passage omitted]

Last, but not least, in talking about discipline, which is a concept that applies to all human activities, we should not fail to mention the question of recruitment in the ranks of the Bulgarian People's Army. Generally speaking, the cadres we are recruiting are satisfactory. The majority of recruits are well trained, conscientious, and efficient officers and sergeants, willing and eager to serve in the Bulgarian People's Army. Most of the soldiers are well educated. These young people are fulfilling their military duties with honor and dignity, they are preparing to defend their socialist motherland. Unfortunately however, not all young soldiers are sufficiently prepared to serve in the Armed Forces. The physical and moral-psychological training of certain young people is sometimes insufficient. This makes it difficult for them to endure the hardships of military service, to fulfill the requirements of the statutes and orders, to perform combat service and daily fatigue duty. Such young people, as a rule, have trouble bearing the heavy load of duties, especially initially.

Preliminary military training and patriotic education of youths have to play their role in this respect. In other words, the system of the young people's preliminary preparation for military service, prior to their service in the Bulgarian People's Army, should be decisively improved.

I would like to stress, in conclusion, that it is necessary to accomplish an accelerated restructuring process in the professional training and work of the officers, petty officers, and sergeants, so that their military pedagogic activities may become even more effective, and so that these activities may even more fully develop education in a spirit of discipline, in order to promote a disciplined attitude and the discipline of the Army personnel as factors guaranteeing even better results in combat and political training, and in maintaining a high, and permanent combat readiness.

This, precisely, is the conclusion that we, members of the Army, should draw from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee Plenum held on 13 and 14 December 1988 on questions of practical work related to restructuring in all spheres of our sociopolitical life.

POGLED Journalist Tours, Praises Albania

AU2501111489 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue 4, 23 Jan 89 p 7

[Article by Evgeni Stanchev, correspondent from Tirana: "Shqiperia—My Pleasant Surprise"]

[Text] Perhaps I should not have been surprised, but I am sure that I am not the only one who felt that way. The fact is that most of us brought instant coffee and toilet paper with us, while at the hotel where I am writing these lines they make excellent coffee, and I know only a few places in Sofia where you would be served coffee that is as good, and there they only make it for friends. Let us not talk about my bathroom, where the tiles and fittings—presumably imported from Italy—the towels, and all the other things are worthy of being exhibited at the Plovdiv Fair.

I think that we should begin by making the following remark: It would be quite unjustified to say that we should consider ourselves totally innocent regarding our lack of information on Albania and as our relations with this country over the last decades, generally speaking. However, I am convinced that we should all be happy about the new stage of development in our relations which is about to begin.

As a matter of fact, could there be a more appropriate symbol of the new developments in relations on our peninsula than the meeting of high-ranking representatives of foreign affairs ministries from Balkan countries which is taking place here in Tirana, in the capital of a country which is now actively involved in the problems of this region, although until recently it did not participate in Balkan affairs? When Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of Albania, welcomed each of the delegations' leaders in perfect English, Russian, and French (people say that he also speaks Italian and Greek) I certainly envied him a little, but this can be accepted as a natural, human reaction.

However, when you meet so many young Albanians who also have a perfect command of the same languages, when you watch them converse with foreign journalists in an intelligent, relaxed, and friendly manner, you can understand that it is not only a question of languages and protocol.

An event such as the aforementioned meeting, which requires responsibility and strict organization, and which has not taken place in Tirana for several decades, did not present any problems for our hosts, who demonstrated that they were in control of the situation, never lost their nerve, and readily responded to the numerous requirements of their guests. It is quite evident that Albania has naturally matured enough to leave the relative isolation in which it spent a considerable period of time. Albania does all these things with the dignity which characterizes the descendants of Skenderbeg, the legendary symbol of Shqiperia [Albania], the country of eagles, as Albanians like to call their homeland. Albania is no longer as far away, as the legend says, despite the high mountain peaks that separate it from the rest of the world.

This is why the decision of the high-ranking Balkan representatives was natural and unanimous, namely, that the forthcoming meeting of foreign ministers from Balkan countries should take place here, in Tirana. Manush Myftiu, member of the Politburo of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, very accurately stated during his meeting with Ivan Ganev, the Bulgarian deputy minister of foreign affairs, that politics are not an end in themselves, that politics is not an isolated phenomenon, but only has meaning if it serves the people. Precisely this was the basic line followed at the meeting: that everyone, as much as possible, should contribute to the common cause at the service of all, namely to guarantee peace, goodneighborly relations, and security in the Balkans. Our deputy minister of foreign affairs, in turn, expanded further on the subject by recalling our common interests dating back to the time of Georgi Dimitrov and Enver Hoxha, stating that cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania cannot and should not be directed against anyone else's interests. However, he stated, wishful thinking is not enough; what we need are deeds. Now the time is ripe for action. Contacts should be multiplied, expansion of cooperation should be guaranteed, and favorable trends should be further expanded. As a matter of fact, the geographical distance between Sofia and Tirana is less than that between Sofia and Varna!

Hardly a year has elapsed since the historic Belgrade meeting, but the talks in the Albanian capital demonstrated that the multilateral dialogue—as it appeared from the 1988 Sofia meeting—is gathering momentum, that this dialogue is being cleared of unnecessary suspicions, timorousness, erroneous interpretations, and selfish intentions. It is evident that the process is useful for all. On the other hand, however, it appears that it can be kept alive only if everyone is involved, without preliminary conditions, without selfish haggling to the advantage of one side or the other.

As early as in his first speech at the meeting, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation assured his colleagues and partners that our country will be a useful participant in the noble struggle for a peaceful and secure Balkan region, for goodneighborly relations, and cooperation in this region which is of great importance for the peace of Europe and the world as a whole. The stand and the contribution of our representatives to the work of the meeting showed that these are not mere words.

There is nothing surprising about my being subjective, but I cannot help mentioning my personal feeling that special, warm feelings and readiness for friendship were manifested toward the Bulgarians, in particular, in Tirana. Even if this assessment should only apply to our group of journalists, I must admit, as all my colleagues unanimously stated, that our stay and work in this city, the care and attention with which we were treated, by far exceeded all our expectations.

The representative from Bulgarian radio and the television crew traveled in a separate bus, while we newspaper correspondents and the BTA representatives rode on another bus. From early in the morning until late at night we were accompanied by guides, interpreters, people who helped as much as they could. In addition to this, we should note that Tirana, with its 25,000 inhabitants, has neither a large amount of buses nor a very large number of well-informed and experienced guides to accompany foreign visitors. Nevertheless, people here remember the epoch of our closer relations. Several of them openly stated that they are looking forward with hope and gratification to our future relations.

The meeting in Tirana was successfully concluded. A positive, new step forward was accomplished. Hardly anyone is in doubt that the forthcoming meeting will inspire even more confidence. Balkan understanding is advancing with firm steps along the only path which is correct and useful for all peoples living on our peninsula. Can there be any better news than this one....

"Appetite comes with eating," Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, said at one of the news conferences. He was talking about further meetings of diplomats from Balkan countries. I would like to say the same about my reports on this neighboring country and its friendly people. To my great surprise, I have more to tell about Shqiperia—the land of eagles.

Cooperation Plan With USSR Trade Chamber Signed

AU2401203089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] The Bulgarian and USSR Trade-Industrial Chambers will intensify their cooperation during the current year by directing their efforts toward assisting enterprises in establishing and expanding direct production and scientific-technical relations. This is one of the main points of the plan on joint work during the current year, which was signed on 24 January in Sofia. It has been envisaged to intensify contacts between economic leaders and strengthen cooperation in the areas of information and patent-license activity and in arbitration. The chambers will exchange information on the new forms and methods of cooperation with the trade chambers of the CEMA countries, appearances in developing and developed capitalist countries, and on the work of the joint chambers.

Swedish Trade, Economic Representation Opens

AU2601195289 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 26 Jan 89

["Bulgaria-Sweden: Development of Economic Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—A trade representation was opened in this country today. Mr Tornbjorn Ek, president of the Sweden section of the Bulgaro-Swedish Commission on Development of Trade, who opened the representation talked about the good prospects of Bulgaro-Swedish economic and techno-scientific cooperation.

He expressed his belief that there are a lot of Bulgarian products which will be received well in Sweden. Thus, for instance, Bulgarian wines take rank positions in the Swedish market, the Swedish businessman indicated and expressed optimism for the future bilateral economic cooperation, regardless of the problems.

Besides wine Bulgaria exports to Sweden a wide range of agricultural products and foodstuffs. An important share in the Bulgarian export is occupied by the industrial production: Metal cutting machines, electric trucks, automated welding systems, etc.

The Swedish companies export to Bulgaria machinery, equipment and technologies for the chemical industry, machine building, telecommunications, railway transport and other sectors. An example of mutually advantageous cooperation is the joint enterprise of the Swedish companies "Erikson" and Asea with the Bulgarian organizations, dealing with automation of communication systems for the Bulgarian railways.

Sources of the business circles of Bulgaria and Sweden determined before the BTA as a "program-minimum" of the economic cooperation the present development of goods-exchange—about 60 million dollars for last year.

Defense Minister Details Arms, Troop Reductions

AU3101111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Realistic Confidence-building Step; Talking to Milan Vaclavik, Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Prague—Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, granted CTK an interview on Czechoslovakia's confidence-building contribution in the military sphere on Friday [27 January].

[CTK] Comrade Minister, the Czechoslovak public has been informed about the personnel and armament cuts and the organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA). Could you tell us something about the purpose of these measures?

[Vaclavik] Our citizens were recently informed about the Warsaw Pact member states' disarmament measures. The CSSR is also about to carry out unilateral—and, I would like to stress, extensive—measures underlining the CSLA's defensive nature.

The purpose of these measures is to strengthen confidence and security in Europe, in line with our military doctrine.

We have thus joined the USSR's initiative, which presented by Comrade Gorbachev to the UN General Assembly on 7 December 1988. At the same time, we approach the fulfillment of provisions set down in the Stockholm document as vigorously and positively as up to this point, following up the stimulating proposals of Comrade Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, on the establishment of a "zone of confidence."

[CTK] Can you explain what the reduction will mean for the CSLA?

[Vaclavik] The reduction concerns three basic areas: Army expenditures, and personnel and armament strengths.

All these areas are interlinked, and we can say, briefly, that the reductions amount to about 10-15 percent.

Together with the reinforcement of the Army's construction organizations, the reduction of combat unit personnel mentioned above amounts to two all-purpose combat formations, including support equipment. The reductions in tank and air regiments also correspond to this.

In terms of combat potential, the number of scrapped tanks and armored personnel carriers amounts to two and ½ tank divisions.

[CTK] Could you tell us how the announced measures for the withdrawal of a portion of the Soviet troops from CSSR territory will be carried out?

[Vaclavik] The withdrawal of Soviet troops and armaments from CSSR territory within the framework of the unilateral reduction of the number of USSR Armed Forces will take place as follows: Four complete formations will be withdrawn in 1989, complete with their equipment; the remaining troops of a tank division will be withdrawn in 1990; and organizational measures will be carried out in the other units of the Central Group of Soviet Forces to enhance their defensive nature.

[CTK] How should one view the reorganization of all-purpose Army divisions into depots?

[Vaclavik] An all-purpose Army division is a group of combat and support units destined to carry out combat activities independently. These groups of units represent the decisive strength of our Army. Their combat potential is naturally determined by their complete combat strength and the total preparedness of professional soldiers and soldiers on basic military service.

Their transfer to depots represents a dissolution of the combat group of units—in other words, a reduction of the CSLA's combat potential by three all-purpose Army divisions in peacetime. However, this leaves us the possibility of restoring the combat ability of the group of units if it is needed, by calling up reservists within 10-15 days.

This measure is a realistic step toward establishing a zone of confidence on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO member states.

Apart from this, I want to stress that the other groups of units will be reorganized to accomplish tasks of an exclusively defensive nature.

[CTK] The declaration states that the number of tactical troop exercises, of live rounds fired, and of reservists called up for exercises will be reduced. Will this not lower the training standards, and thus also the readiness of our Army?

[Vaclavik] Naturally, this is a serious issue, one that seems to be directed against our efforts to carry out the thorough training and education of our troops and to achieve our staffs' perfection in managing combat activities—which is surely the main purpose of our work. We must not permit the training standards in units, formations, and groups of units to deteriorate on any account.

We regard as decisive one of the tasks set for this training year: enhancing the effectiveness of training and improving its organization, adequately providing for every job. Our aim in this is to make training substantially more economical, and we currently are appraising its results primarily from this aspect.

By reducing the number of exercises and by calling up reservists we are contributing to our common effort to make effective and economical use of the national means.

[CTK] The Czechoslovak public welcomes and supports the disarmament initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member states. It will no doubt support our own share in this process, too. Nevertheless, this involves another question: Will this not threaten the CSSR's security and that of the socialist community?

[Vaclavik] We approach the adoption of all these measures in the awareness that it is imperative to safeguard the defensive ability of the CSSR and its allies. Because must necessarily take the current military-political situation in Europe into account, our present possibilities of reducing the Armed Forces are limited; the limits are also imposed by the fact that we lie on the line of contact with the NATO countries. Our common border is almost 250 km long, and our Armed Forces are frontline defense troops of the Warsaw Pact. At the same time, we must bear in mind the way that the NATO states react, or fail to react, to our unilateral measures .

Up to now we have been speaking of the need to achieve a high combat preparedness in the CSLA. I want to underline that the present measures do not mean that we have reduced our demands—on the contrary, it is necessary to mobilize every effort to fully provide for the safety of our state and of the socialist community even while taking these measures.

General Vacek on Arms Cuts, Army's Role

LD3101194189 Prague CTK in English
1620 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 31 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia has in all of its history sufficiently proved it has neither interest nor any power, legal or territorial motivation to enter into an armed confrontation with any neighbour or other state," Chief of the Chiefs of Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army Lieutenant-General Mirsoslav Vacek told a news conference here today.

He said that Czechoslovakia "is a small country with limited human, raw material and energy resources and therefore cooperation not only with socialist states but also with other states of the world is needed and necessary for us."

He dealt mainly with two important documents published lately, the statement on troop and armament reductions and organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army, which includes the decision of the Czechoslovak Council of State Defence, and the statement of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee on the Warsaw Treaty and NATO arms and troops ratio in Europe. The two documents are, in his words, "a significant contribution to the further strengthening of East-West confidence in the military sphere." In this connection he added: "By publishing the official data we want to show goodwill and help speed up the process of creating confidence and reduce the armed forces to the level of reasonable sufficiency. This should also put an end to various speculations with numbers which do not contribute to constructive negotiations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states."

The statement of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee stressed the need to adopt immediate measures to remove the existing imbalance and asymmetry, to substantially reduce the most dangerous offensive types of weapons, to ensure lower numbers in armed forces, to restructure the two blocs with an aim to givem them an explicitly defensive character, Lieutenant-General Miroslav Vacek said.

"Czechoslovakia actively supports the demands of the Warsaw Treaty as the burden of military confrontation seriously concerns our country. The decisions of the Council of State Defence on basic changes are aimed at increasing the defensive character of our Army. They are also based on the principles of a proposal submitted by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes in February 1988 to create a zone of confidence, good-neighbour relations and cooperation on the line dividing the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states," Miroslav Vacek said recalling also the joint proposals of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to create zones free of chemical and nuclear weapons in central Europe.

Answering a question about whether there still exists a war threat to Czechoslovakia, he said: "The answer is clear—it does, even in the situation when the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community sincerely seek improvement of relations with the NATO states and strive to decrease the war threat by political means."

Miroslav Vacek further said: "We in Czechoslovakia are concerned over the considerable extent and intensity of operational and combat training of NATO Armed Forces in Europe which in no way decreased in 1988." He recalled, e.g., that last year's biggest military exercises of NATO forces "Certain Challenge" were attended by 128,000 men and took place in West Germany close to the territory of Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

"The West has not yet found a proper answer to the peace initiatives of the socialist countries. It is adopting measures to improve the quality of its arms systems, both in conventional and nuclear means," Lieutenant-General Miroslav Vacek said and stressed: "The Czechoslovak People's Army in alliance with other armies of the Warsaw Treaty will also in the qualitatively new conditions created by the disarmament measures taken by its individual member states ensure the necessary level of combat readiness and training of its forces."

Army Party Talks End; Soviet General Departs

AU3101165989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jan 89 p 2

["pal"-signed report: "On Army Tasks"]

[Text] Prague (by our correspondent)—The conference of the chiefs and party organization chairmen of the bodies of the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA), which was held in Prague on Thursday [26 January], dealt with the implementation of conclusions adopted at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session and at the all-Army ideological aktiv meeting, as well as with the Army party organization's preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the CSLA Political Main Administration, said that effective mass political work is the prerequisite for successfully accomplishing these tasks. In the coming period of members' annual meetings in primary organizations and of annual party conferences, the Communists must make their influence felt everywhere, especially in the effective accomplishment of everyday tasks. That is why their work must be characterized by consistency and a critically demanding attitude, by a more purposeful approach to the people's views. He stressed that one must also concentrate on intensifying the citizens' paramilitary awareness and develop cooperation with the social organizations of the National Front.

The session was attended by a delegation from the Political Main Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, led by its chief, Army General Aleksey Lizichev.

On Thursday the Soviet delegation concluded its visit to the CSSR and departed.

Obzina on Impact of Changed Soviet Import Needs

AU3101151889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jan 89 p 7

[Vladimir Jancura Moscow dispatch: "The Soviet Union Demands Consumer Goods—How Will Its Trade Partners Respond?"]

[Excerpts] We have already written about the situation on the Soviet consumer goods market. The steadily growing unrealized purchasing power of the population, a certain drop in the production of some types of products, and the resulting shopping fever have emptied the shelves of some shops and lengthened the lines in front of others. [passage omitted]

Given these circumstances, the relevant Soviet authorities are taking extraordinary temporary measures. [passage omitted] Imports of machinery and equipment are being limited to allow the purchase of more consumer goods. [passage omitted]

It is thus not surprising that, during trade negotiations with the socialist partners, the Soviet side particularly draws its attention to this "item." This makes the partners feel uneasy, to say the least, because, other considerations apart, consumer goods are not exactly in oversupply on their own domestic markets, either....

True, some of them presently find consolation in their countries' surplus in the balance of trade with the USSR. However, the world prices of crude oil and natural gas surely will not continue declining indefinitely. Moreover, it is more than likely that in the upcoming 5-year period new principles of price-setting will begin to apply in our mutual trade, principles based on shorter-term world trends.

The Soviet Union will now demand primarily consumer goods for the 16 million tonnes of crude oil and the 20 to 25 million cubic meters of natural gas that our national economy annually needs, like a fish needs water. If we prove unable to comply with this, it will then turn elsewhere, where it can find this merchandise. How can one retain the priority right to Soviet deliveries of fuels, energy, and raw materials while at the same time satisfying the needs of one's own consumer goods market and changing the outdated structure of one's own exports? Although this question was not officially raised in this form at the 3-day, 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee in Moscow, it was hovering in the air all the time, and it was lively discussed in the lobby.

We put this question also to CSSR Deputy Premier J. Obzina, our country's standing representative to CEMA.

"We will not be able to pay for the natural gas and the crude oil with shoes and coats," he told us. "This is why we are exploring the possibilities of two development programs, one in the consumer electronics sector and one elsewhere, programs that would give a strong boost to the inevitable modernization of our entire industry and in which the Soviet side, too, would show interest. At the same time, these must be products that are in demand on our domestic market and that would contribute to the creation and gradual saturation of the common socialist market."

Comrade Obzina cited our compact-disk players as one possible example. If we increase annual production to 450,000 players and 9 million compact disks, we will be able to export 200,000 and 1 million of them, respectively, to the USSR and will still have some left over for export to other markets, while also naturally satisfying domestic demand.

What if all 10 CEMA member states in concert came up with their own contribution of this sort? Once prices and the exchange rates of the national currencies are placed on a more realistic footing, in the near future there could emerge the foundation for the establishment of a customs union between our states. Or is this Utopia? Yes, if we do not move beyond the plane of words and nice-sounding plans. The objective processes taking place in the world economy and in our own integration grouping make it necessary, however, to change approaches more boldly, to join forces, to act.

Statement on Chemical Arms Control Experiment

AU3001135789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The CSSR Does Not Own, Produce, or Store Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—As was set out in the CSSR Government statement of 5 January on questions of the prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons, the CSSR does not own, produce, or store these weapons on its territory. We have an extraordinary interest in a speedy completion of the draft text—which is being drawn up at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament—of a convention on the general and complete ban on chemical weapons and on their liquidation, Ivan Kulhanek, spokesman for the CSSR Foreign Ministry, said in a statement on Thursday [26 January].

Czechoslovakia has voiced its readiness to take part in a series of control experiments proposed by the Soviet Union that would, even prior to the conclusion of the convention, reply to one of the most complicated problems: how to reliably control civilian chemical production and bar the possibility of it being abused to produce chemical weapons.

In this context, a number of quite specific measures have been worked out and adopted, which are summarized in the CSSR Government statement. On the basis of these measures, an experiment on the national level was carried out in Czechoslovakia on 25-26 January, involving the control of the nonuse of civilian industry to produce chemical weapons. This experiment was successfully carried out in the Mnisek plant of the "Association for Chemical and Metallurgical Production Usti nad Labem" state enterprise in Liberec District. This plant manufactures chemicals for the textile and leather-processing industries.

Experts from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National Defense and from the chemical industry confirmed that effective control of the civilian chemical industry is possible and enforceable. It does not disrupt the production process in any serious way, nor does it interfere with the confidential nature of production or commercial secrets. The CSSR will notify the Geneva Conference on Disarmament through diplomatic channels of the results of the experiment. Subsequently, on the basis of obtained experience and the completed evaluation [of the experiment], an analogous experiment is to take place with the participation of foreign inspectors. This step is also the CSSR's contribution to implementing the final declaration of the international conference on chemical disarmament that took place in Paris from 7 to 11 January 1989, which was adopted with the consent of the 149 participating states.

Commentary Criticizes Charter 77 Statements

LD2801121789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Domestic political commentary by Zdenek Tomas]

[Excerpts] It would be untrue to allege that participants in the riots are merely Charter members and members of illegal groups, whatever their names may be. They also include defenders of socialism, but only the kind of socialism that would leave them with social safeguards and free them of responsibilities toward the whole society, as well as from duties under valid laws. People who are otherwise passive in their civilian lives also gathered here, just as did inquisitive young people longing for adventure. [passage omitted]

We certainly cannot expect any cooperation from the so-called Charter 77. Over 340 of its statements to date are crowned by a statement by Ivan Svitak—I quote—the Charter has no program inasmuch as it has no aim; it is only concerned about renewing opposition in an abnormal country. So much for Svitak's sincerity. Where can you find room for the socialist pluralism of views and interests? First and foremost, political parties and interest organizations of the National Front. Its members are intensively seeking ways to unite the greatest possible number of honest citizens in our state. That is why, for example, last December, at the initiative of the National Front, there was a meeting in Prague of a forum of the Czechoslovak public. The Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, which was set up, discussed the delivered proposals. Their utilization will now also be discussed by the CPCZ and the National Front Commission for the preparation of a new constitution. Yet another fact: This year, nature protection unions have become organizations of the National Front. They organize people who care about our living environment and who also help to reveal those who are to blame for the poor state of affairs.

The system of the National Front is thus not rigid and closed once and for all. The room for a dialogue and an alternative seeking of forms of common policy was extended this week by the decision of the Czech Government to allow, as of 1 February, the activity of a new religious society known as the Apostolic Church. All this represents facts that provide evidence to enemies and those in doubt that they are not right when they talk about a lack of freedom and suppressed democracy. Common dialogue is possible, beneficial, and necessary. A true dialogue, however, cannot be led in a whirlwind of passions. Deepening democracy cannot be mistaken for anarchy. Democracy for one group cannot mean denying this right to others. The necessary accompanying phenomena of a dialogue are organized creative acts without futile cries, conscious discipline and order, and maintaining authority and the sovereignty of the law. This is the basic prerequisite for the further development of democracy, rights, freedoms, and the social security of all of us.

Former Official Sik Views Political Situation

AU3001135[illegible]89 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 28 Jan 89 pp 4-5

[Excerpts from an interview with Prof Ota Sik, former CSSR deputy premier under Alexander Dubcek, by Kurt Seinitz: "Insane Tightrope Dancing"; date, place not given—Sik's answers are given in quotation marks]

[Text]

On the Demonstrations

"Their outbreak after 20 years of deathly silence has not surprised me; instead, it has been surprising to me that the CSSR people have not long before gained courage from the developments in the Soviet Union. I have only been surprised at the brutal police actions.

"It is outrageous that today one has to observe the police brutality against people who are doing nothing but crying out for more democracy. Once again it is shown that the Prague team of the Prague Spring's liquidators are ready to use the most brutal police methods to remain in power."

On Prague's Double Strategy

"The so-called 'reforms' of the past year are only an eyewash, the rulers' typical behavior according to Schwejk [character of CSSR literature]. Gorbachev's course is advocated in words. However, in reality everything is put off. This is a well-considered strategy. In the first place, economic reform is expected; however, without opening up politically. Second, it is hoped that Gorbachev's course will be frustrated. Insane tightrope dancing is taking place in Prague, and the people, of course, notice the increasing contradictions."

Changes in the Leadership

"They do not automatically take place, but they have to be given impetus. In Hungary, the new team of Grosz and company provided the impetus for the replacement of Kadar and his team. But in our country? I do not see anybody. Who are the 'new people' who reached the top last year? Jakes, Fojtik, and so on. These are again old men from the Ice Age! The fact that no real democratization can be expected from these men has resulted in the explosive climate of disappointment in the CSSR."

Movement Behind the Scenes

"I am convinced that the shock of the week of the Prague demonstrations will trigger discussions in the CSSR leadership. It is hard to assess from the outside what is going on in such a closed party. However, let us only consider the 'Prague Spring' of 1968. What observer from the outside would have imagined beforehand what was going on? On account of this experience, I believe that something has to happen in Prague because the old course simply cannot continue. Thus, the reaction of the conspiratorial team of liquidators from 1968, who know that not even the slightest opening must be permitted because it could result in an avalanche, is all the tougher. They only have one ideology: preventing everything that could lead to another'1968.'"

Struggle for Changes

"I am convinced that in every country there are people in the leadership who want to implement reforms. This is also the CSSR's hope. It is a matter of time, but time is pressing. Now the people will not give in. Let us only think of what the Polish Solidarity trade union has achieved because it did not give up when it was dealt its worst blows."

On a "Hungarian Course" for the CSSR

"As early as 1956, Janos Kadar realized the necessity of reforms, and after his course had lost momentum, a team of successors consisting of new reformers was ready. In the CSSR, things have been different from the very start. The problems go as far back as 1968 and, thus, the backlog of demand is all the greater now."

On Further Development

"Although, for various reasons, the CSSR people are less militant than the Hungarians, I am convinced that they have now realized the historical chance to achieve changes. Accordingly, the week of demonstrations was only a prelude. Although protests are not possible and will not take place every day, the times of the deathly silence have passed until somebody who does not have dirty hands takes over at the top. With every blow from the police truncheons, the people's fury increases, and when the people awake, they will not rest until they achieve victory."

Man Threatening Self Immolation Apprehended

AU3101113789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Timely Intervention by the National Security Corps"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—On Wednesday, 25 January 1989, at 2345, an unknown man announced by telephone to the municipal district administration of the National Security Corps in Prague-9 his intention of setting himself on fire in the ninth municipal district of Prague on

Saturday, 28 January 1989. Members of the National Security Corps succeeded in searching the man out. He is a 32-year-old citizen of Gypsy origin who has been sentenced four times and who, moreover, is now under preventive surveillance. During his interrogation he said that he listens to Radio Free Europe programs and that he is sympathetic toward "Charter 77" representative Vaclav Havel.

The investigation of the case continues.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 January on page 2 carries a 700-word article by Jiri Bares and Jiri Janouskovec entitled "What One Desperate Person Likes," which provides a more detailed account of the aforementioned incident. The article reveals that the man in question is Petr Nadzo and that he wanted to set fire to himself in People's Militia Square on 28 January at noon, "for everyone to see." The article describes Nadzo as an unstable person with a criminal record and attributes his intention to personal problems on the one hand and "instigation from Radio Free Europe and some Charter 77 followers on the other." Unnamed fellow demonstrators in Wenceslas Square reportedly "advised him" how to carry out the self-immolation. Bares and Janouskovec report that, fortunately, Nadzo got drunk the night of 26 January and was then taken to the sobering-up ward, where, in a state of intoxication, he first confessed his plan and, later, "grasped the senselessness of his decision."]

Ideology Official on 'Civic Initiative' Groups

AU2801164889 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 24 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Josef Kesner, director of the Evening Marxism-Leninism University in the Prague City CPCZ Committee's House of Political Education in Prague, by Josef Tuka: "Frank Talk; J. Kesner says: 'No Reason To Fear a Discussion If You Tell the Truth...'"]

[Excerpts] We are in the Prague City CPCZ Committee's House of Political Education (DPV)—an old building at No 13 Celetna Street, which neither has, nor will it ever have, commercial institutions on the ground floor. It gives a majestic impression, but it does not attract the attention of uninitiated. Its regular visitors consist of the almost 7,000 Prague lecturers-propagandists and their audience, primarily from the Evening Marxism-Leninism University and other forms of party education....

We visited its director, Josef Kesner, and asked him about the issues in which our readers are most frequently interested.

[Tuka] You provide methodological assistance for the party education of 150,000 Communists in Prague. How does restructuring affect this?

[Kesner] Very strikingly. In fact, our experience is being used throughout our party. We also have 2 years of verifying the methodological approaches behind us. [passage omitted] We are the party's educational institution in our capital, in which significant intellectual institutes are concentrated; that is why the CPCZ Central Committee has given us a number of tasks for meeting statewide needs. The comrades believe that the significance of our DPV is about to grow very substantially. We are glad about this, but we also regard it as a great commitment.

[Tuka] Are these tasks a confidential party matter?

[Kesner] Ideological work knows no confidential tasks....

[Tuka] So you in the DPV are capable of discussing really everything?

[Kesner] Our principle is not to evade any discussion or any issue. Of course, the discussion must be qualified and authoritative, so that it can result in a specific deed aimed at restructuring.

[Tuka] Are you truly an advocate of restructuring, of new thinking, Comrade Director?

[Kesner] I on on the side of our restructuring, vowing allegiance to it as the only alternative. After all, you can convince yourself of this on the spot, here in the DPV....

[Tuka] Yes, I have attended a few seminars and conferences. The problems are being resolved here energetically, in an innovative spirit, and I also like the working atmosphere that prevails here. Nevertheless, are you capable of new thinking with the old cadre of lecturers?

[Kesner] Our team of lecturers is being rejuvenated. Some comrades have resigned, but we respect the experienced ones who profess their allegiance to restructuring and who strive to carry it out. We are now talking about the most actual, but also most difficult, process of restructuring—that of restructuring the psychology of the mind.

[Tuka] [Passage omitted] May I ask a purely personal question?

[Kesner] Naturally....

[Tuka] Have you no fear of going to discuss things with the workers in plants?

[Kesner] Sometimes I attend up to 10 such meetings a month, mostly among the workers. There is no reason to fear them, if you tell the truth....

[Tuka] And one last question: Various groups have recently begun to be active; they call themselves "civic initiative." What is your view of their actual influence in Prague?

[Kesner] I believe that we have here the vestiges of the so-called Charter 77; many members of these groups live in Prague, and their influence will continue to be negligible. Essentially, they are hostile to restructuring and they are not supported by the people of Prague. The method they use is destructive—in this sense some of them are being directed and influenced from abroad. They also receive their financial support from there—for instance, from emigres. Our former physicist Janouch is telling us outright, from Sweden, that the emigres are providing some of them with "sufficient comfort for this work." As I have already said, the method used by our ideology is dialogue. If these people are still following the platform of socialism, we do not evade dialogue with them. But we will not confuse discussion with these people with a discussion on restructuring with those who favor restructuring, who favor a true socialist democracy and accelerating socioeconomic development. And the absolute majority of the people of Prague consists of such people.

Merits, 'Snags' of Private Enterprise Viewed

AU2501130889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 January on page 1 carries a 1,300-word editorial entitled "Small But Useful Entrepreneurial Activity," concerning the role of "individual labor activity" under socialism. The growing role of the "private sector" in services is also the subject of a 500-word "ada"-signed report entitled "Advantageous Competition; Services in Prague Continue To Fall Short of Demand," which RUDE PRAVO publishes the same day on page 2.

The RUDE PRAVO editorial responds to various "prejudices and doubts" about the role of "small-scale entrepreneurship" under socialism, "which mostly arise from the notion that it is 'alien to socialism' and that it runs counter to its interests." RUDE PRAVO contends that the criterion by which any type of economic activity under socialism must be measured is "whether this activity meets the needs of society and whether income comes from one's own work," regardless of the size of the "collective to whose administration society entrusted the means of production." As long as social ownership plays the "decisive role" and the people are in power, the editorial points out, "various forms of small-scale entrepreneurship do not undermine socialism. Rather, the reverse is true: Their correct use helps to strengthen the economic functions of the socialist system, chiefly by contributing to the meeting of people's growing needs and to the provision of numerous, often scarce, types of jobs and services."

The editorial notes that, so far, national committees in the CSSR have issued only 38,000 authorizations to provide services on an individual basis, and that "a substantial expansion of this number would only be beneficial." This is why "practical steps" will reportedly now be taken to promote this activity and to "purposefully integrate it into the social organization of labor." These steps will reportedly include new legislation that should specify the areas in which small entrepreneurs can operate; the resolution of the status of small entrepreneurs under the labor law; the terms of the provision of credits for small businesses, etc.

While the editorial emphasizes the usefulness of small businesses under socialism, it also draws attention to "certain risks" which "the integration of individual labor activity and small-scale entrepreneurship into the social organization of labor entails." In this context, it dismisses as "distorted" the view that one only needs to create scope for entrepreneurship and that competition alone will see to the rest. "Under conditions in which there is a marked preponderance of demand over supply and permanent disproportions," the editorial says, competition alone cannot act as a "reliable regulator," so "society must protect consumers against the play of the market." This is why "under socialism, small-scale entrepreneurship must stand on firm economic foundations and not on an arbitrary will. Whoever assumes that he can unrestrainedly use the scarcity of services to dictate his conditions to society and to consumers will not get anywhere." The editorial also refers to the existence of other "snags" involved in small-scale entrepreneurship, such as the danger of overexertion by working inordinately long hours, "which is not in harmony with socialism's objective of developing man's personality," or the danger of an "unhealthy mentality" being spawned, a mentality marked by "absorption in one's own interests and disregard for collective and social interests." The editorial concludes by stating, however, that contemporary social relations make it possible "to eliminate or limit these potential snags so that small-scale entrepreneurial activity can be fully used for the benefit of the socialist society's development."

The "ada"-signed report deals with the development of services in Prague in 1988. It notes that the number of citizens in Prague providing services on the basis of the national committee's authorization has increased from fewer than 1,000 in 1987 to 2,700 today. Most of these authorizations have reportedly been issued for "the repair and maintenance of the housing stock, dressmaking and tailoring, and the repair of automobiles and electric and other appliances." The report notes that a still faster development of the "private sector" [unlike the RUDE PRAVO editorial, the "ada"-signed report actually uses this term] is hampered by shortages of raw and subsidiary materials, spare parts, and business premises, as well as by a "large number of follow-up legal provisions, including the tax system." The report also mentions that, to facilitate access to materials, the first special shop serving the needs of "small service outlets operated by national committees and providing services to authorized citizens," opened in Prague-3 last September. Analogous shops in the other municipal districts of Prague are reportedly to follow suit.

Warsaw Pact Statement, NATO Attitude Viewed

AU0102125989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 89 p 2

["ng" commentary: "There Are Forces That Promote Disarmament and Forces That Obstruct Disarmament"]

[Text] The statement of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee, published yesterday [30 January], has clearly demonstrated what must be given absolute priority at present: the prevention of war, a halt to the nuclear and conventional arms race, and the introduction of steady disarmament.

The practical deeds of the states of our alliance are furnishing evidence of the seriousness of their intentions. Irrespective of the negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals, which are scheduled to start in Vienna on 6 March, the Soviet Union will unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men within the next 2 years. The National People's Army will be unilaterally reduced by 10,000 men by the end of 1990. In harmony with the socialist military doctrine, the CSSR, Bulgaria, and Hungary have also announced unilateral disarmament steps during the fast few days.

The effects of this policy were also reflected at the 26th International Defense Studies Meeting in Munich during the weekend. The opinion was repeatedly expressed that Gorbachev's and Honecker's disarmament measures largely set the theme for the international debates. It is logical that, in view of such activities, the "feeling of threat" is increasingly declining among the population in Western states. SPD politician Egon Bahr described as a new development that socialism now "threatens" to eliminate the "threat."

These statements were made before the figures on the numerical strength of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe were published. After the announcement of advance disarmament measures, the publication of these documents was another step on the part of the socialist military coalition. It has put the cards on the table. This significant document is an objective representation of the military potentials of the two opposed alliance systems in Europe and has once again reduced the lie about the threat to absurdity.

In its statement, the Defense Ministers Committee expressed the hope that the NATO states may adopt a similar attitude. At the Munich International Defense Studies Meeting, where important NATO politicians and military experts made speeches, nothing was heard to this effect. As far as the advance concessions of the socialist military coalition are concerned, there was no reply. Concerning measures aimed at reducing weapons and armed forces, no proposals were submitted. Instead of all this, there was a noisy confirmation of the adherence to the principle of nuclear deterrence on the part of NATO. The nuclear weapons deployed in Europe are to be modernized on all accounts—irrespective of a threat that does not exist and of the growing resistance among the population.

It would certainly be too early to assess the declarations of intent by Tower, Scholz, and Woerner and other leading NATO representatives as a reaction to the statement of the Warsaw Pact states, which was published yesterday. However, it has once more become apparent who are the forces that are in favor of not allowing a pause in the disarmament process and who are the forces that obstruct the process.

Appeal for Election of National Front Candidates

au3101094989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jan 89 p 1

[Appeal for the local elections on 7 May, passed by the National Council of the National Front on 26 January: "Appeal for Elections of the National Council of the National Front"]

[Text] Dear citizens:

On 7 May this year, we will elect the deputies for the kreis assemblies, the city assemblies, the city bezirk assemblies, and the village assemblies. Decisions will be made regarding the makeup of 7,800 people's representative bodies, which will be directly responsible for the flourishing of our towns and villages in the next 5 years.

We call on all citizens to examine 260,000 candidates prior to the elections, who have been nominated by the parties and organizations in our country for the National Front's election proposal.

The election proposal must include citizens who enjoy the confidence of the voters.

The examination of the candidates is accompanied by a comprehensive public discussion. Accountability reports are submitted publicly on the decisions that were made by the people's representative bodies and their councils during the past legislative period in the interest of the citizens, and on the things that have been achieved jointly. Tasks are discussed that are to be solved in the coming years. We want to discuss in a trusting manner the questions that concern the lives of the people, the development of our towns and villages, the everyday life of every family. It should be a public discussion that corresponds to the principle of our socialist democracy: work together, plan together, govern together!

What are the Goals of our Joint Election Program?

The local elections in 1989 are a highlight in the 40th anniversary of the existence of our republic. We are satisfied when we look back upon the path along which we have proceeded. We have maintained the course under all conditions, and have faced up to the challenges of the time.

Through the diligence and the creativity of the people, under the leadership of the SED and together with the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the National Democratic Party, and all mass organizations, a historic work has been fulfilled since 1949. A peaceful, politically stable, economically efficient, culturally highly developed, and internationally respected socialist worker-peasant state has grown in the heart of Europe on German soil.

To enhance and to protect what has been created in alliance with the National Front is our task.

Forty years of GDR prove the following:

The workers class, allied with the cooperative peasants and the intelligentsia, together with all working people, is in a position to steer a modern industrial state. It is in a position to link science and technology with the advantages and driving forces of socialism and to convert it into progress for all. It is in a position to use state-owned, cooperative, and private property, together with local initiatives, effectively for the well-being and happiness of the people, while adhering to the principle of central management and planning.

There is full employment and not mass unemployment in the GDR. We do not have exorbitant rents, no homelessness, no new poverty, but social security for all. In our country, all children have the same education and career opportunities, there is no privilege of education, no fear of the future. We have free health care, no skyrocketing prices for hospitals and pharmaceuticals that are passed on to the patients, stable prices for basic necessities, services, and fares.

Through socialism, a social order with a human face arose here.

The GDR is among the strongest industrial countries in the world. Its citizens have a high standard of living. It continues to be our goal to raise it further.

United by the will to add new things to what we have achieved, we jointly proceed on the path outlined by the 11th SED Congress of shaping the developed socialist society. The 12th SED Congress in May 1990 will map out the course beyond the year 2000, which will continue to be oriented toward the spirit of socialism to serve the well-being of the citizens.

Our policy is aimed at:
—the steady dynamic development of our country in accordance with the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy!
—the further flourishing of our towns and villages for the benefit of all!
—a strong socialism in alliance with the states of the socialist community of states!
—disarmament, peace, and cooperation with all states of the world!

This is our Joint Election Program! In order to realize it, we elect the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!

We Go to the Polls With a Good Balance Sheet

We have realized what we pledged in the electoral appeal in 1984. The national income rose every year. We have achieved a continued economic growth on the basis of increased labor productivity. The following was achieved during the past legislative period:

A total of 1,068,375 apartments were created, thus improving the living conditions of 3.2 million citizens. In addition to that, apartments and residential areas were renovated within the "beautify our towns and villages—join in!" initiative. A total of 53,555 new places in creches, 118,820 places in kindergartens, 11,468 classrooms, and 734 new gymnasiums were built, thus creating even more favorable conditions for our children; 1,510 new FDJ youth clubs, providing 108,990 places, expanded the possibilities of pursuing meaningful pastimes.

A total of 18,035 places were created in old people's and nursing homes, thus improving the possibilities for taking care of the work veterans.

Considerable efforts were made to improve the care for families with children, working mothers, young couples, as well as elderly citizens who are in need of care. Child benefits were increased in May 1987. The annual leave of older working people was extended by 1 week. The most comprehensive increase of pensions so far will become effective at the end of 1989.

What has characterized life since the Eighth SED Congress in 1971 will be continued. The purpose of the whole work was and continues to be the well-being of the people. During the past 18 years, a total of over 3 million new apartments and better living conditions were realized for more than half of the population. Over M320 billion were invested for this. To keep rents low so that everybody can afford them, M61 billion were made available from the state budget during this period.

Handicraft and trade continued to be promoted—in the interest of all citizens.

The towns and villages have undergone significant and visible changes!

Our state is a socialist state based on the rule of law. It ensures the social, political, and personal basic rights and freedoms. The right to participate in shaping state and social affairs, the inviolability of the person, freedom and dignity, and the right to work and recreation, to respect, protection, and the promotion of marriage and family, freedom of conscience, religion, and of belief, the right to personal property, comprehensive legal certainty—they have been realized for all citizens.

We can be proud of what we have achieved. We are living in a state where progress has been achieved, where everybody has good prospects, and where the well-being of the citizens is valued highly.

However, we know that a lot is still to be done in the future. Everything we achieve can only be a result of our own diligence.

The way we work today is the way we will live tomorrow. To continue our successes, we vote for the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!

The Most Important Thing is Peace, for our Country and for the World

During the past 5 years, the GDR has made a sizable contribution to the struggle for peace. It is closely linked with the name of its highest representative, Erich Honecker. Through political dialogue and numerous activities of its own, our country is making efforts to breath life into the peace program of the Warsaw Pact states. This was conducive to the disarmament process, contributed to bringing about the first disarmament treaty, which provides for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles.

We are in favor of further steps on this path, so that zero solutions is followed by zero solution, that the diabolical things disappear from the globe and that space remains free from them. This has been demonstrated by Mikhail Gorbachev's initiative, according to which the Soviet Union will carry out unilateral disarmament in the sphere of conventional armed forces and weapons, starting before the end of 1989.

The resolution of the National Defense Council presented by Erich Honecker on 23 January 1989, which is aimed at unilaterally and unconditionally reducing the National People's Army by 10,000 men, at reducing defense expenditure by 10 percent, and at changing the structure of the National People's Army so that it gains an even more strictly defensive character, is an important contribution to peace. We support disarmament by deeds! Thus, the GDR, located at the sensitive dividing line between Warsaw Pact and NATO, is aware of its responsibility as a state of socialism and peace, in complete agreement with the will of its citizens.

Now it is up to the NATO states, not least the FRG, to act!

In all this, we do not overlook the fact that there are imperialist forces at work that want to bring the disarmament process to a dead stop. They want to compensate for the missiles that are now being destroyed and to modernize other nuclear and conventional weapons. They are the ones who want to profit from the arms race, the ones who do not like the borders that have been drawn as a result of World War II and postwar developments in Europe. They still dream of military superiority and blackmail.

A world without mass destruction weapons and without war is and continues to be our goal. The path toward this goal, however, is full of struggles.

The GDR is putting all its political, economic, moral, and even military weight on the scales so that war will never again start from German soil but only peace.

We act in accordance with the motto "My workplace—my combat station for peace!" We want and will strengthen our republic, socialism, and peace. Our towns and villages shall flourish under a peaceful sky.

To achieve progress in the safeguarding of peace, we vote for the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!

Dynamic Performance Increase Promotes the Well-Being of all Citizens

We set challenging goals for the coming legislative period. Socialism on German soil should become even more attractive. We want to continue to shape the developed socialist society and promote the political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes and renewal that are linked with it. The GDR National Front is a community of innovators, and the future belongs to the innovators.

Let us place our daily thinking and acting in the service of the main task of the unity of economic and social policy. Let us face up to the challenges of socialist competition, aimed at daily fulfilling and purposefully overfulfilling the plan targets in terms of quantity, the range of products, quality, and the value of products—to ensure domestic supply, to develop the national economy, and to guarantee efficient exports.

Only through comprehensive intensification, which has been outlined by the economic strategy, and through high-level achievements in science and technology and their close connection with production will it be possible to further increase labor productivity. This is the only possible way to achieve an increase in national income, which makes possible the consistent continuation of our economic and social policy.

We stick to the following principle: What has been created by the people's hands should remain the property of the people and benefit the people. To achieve another performance increase, we vote for the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!

The Towns and Villages Shall Continue To Flourish

High-level economic performances are the stable foundation for a local policy that yields rich results.

Let us use in an even better way the regional resources and reserves to achieve a performance increase for the well-being of the people by using everywhere the potentials of the community work of the local people's representative bodies and their organs, together with the enterprises, cooperatives, facilities and institutions. Let us apply all forms of close cooperation to make more efficient use of labor, energy, materials, and the experiences of the best, to find more efficient solutions in the regions that benefit the citizens' standard of living.

Let us fulfill the great task of solving the housing problem as a social issue by 1990. Let us find the most favorable relationship between construction, modernization and building stock preservation. Apartments must not allowed to be empty for a long time. Repairs are to be carried out on a timely basis. The construction of apartments, housing management, and the allocation of apartments should be coordinated. The competent state organs are obliged to carry out changes more quickly in this sphere. Continued information on local projects and their joint realization are important. This is one of the characteristic features of local policy that is close to the citizens.

Let us focus our attention on good education and living conditions for all children. Let us do everything possible to achieve more progress in the sphere of medical and social care, particularly in the industrial conurbation centers, in the development of culture and arts, sports and recreation. Let us ensure a more stable supply, timesaving repairs and services that correspond to the needs of the individuals, and a well-functioning commuter traffic.

Let us shape our villages, including the more than 12,000 village districts, in such a way that they become pleasant homes for the cooperative peasants and all its inhabitants, including the young.

This is also the aim of the "beautify our towns and villages—join in!" drive. Let us promote everything that helps protect and cultivate nature and the environment. A pleasant appearance of our towns and villages includes clean roads, paths, parks, playgrounds, public gardens, and good recreational areas. All our activities aimed at protecting nature and the environment, order, cleanliness, and hygiene are gaining increasing significance.

There should be an intellectual-cultural and sporting life everywhere which should serve the interests of young and old, their health and their love of our home country.

Socialist local policy means: everything with the people, everything through the people, and everything for the people! To achieve success in accordance with this slogan, we vote for the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!

We believe in the unity of word and deed. There is no place for those in the people's representative bodies who do not comply with this principle.

Here in socialism there is room for everyone. All citizens, irrespective of their social origins, ideology, and religion are needed. All have equal opportunities to help shape society and their own lives. Socialist democracy means having a real say in the state, economy, and society. It aims at measurable results to everyone's advantage.

The elections will be held according to tried and tested principles. At the same time, however, on the basis of the experiences of all parties and mass organizations united in the democratic bloc, there will be further steps toward a broader development of socialist democracy.

In accordance with a long-standing tradition, on the basis of the electoral law, a third more candidates than deputies seats are available will be put up: you are the ones who must decide who will be be selected as a candidate. There is no haggling about seats, no bribing by capitalist concerns because we do not have any.

As has been practiced so far, the parties and mass organization represented in the democratic bloc can nominate candidates. From now on, other organizations and associations, such as the Chamber of Technology, the consumer cooperatives, the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders, the people's Solidarity, the GDR Red Cross, the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation, the Urania Cultural Organization, and the Voluntary Fire Brigade, will also be able to propose active members as candidates. Thus, the selection of the future people's representatives in the election meetings will placed on an even broader basis.

The National Front committees are requested to examine the candidates in the work collectives, which has been extended to 4 weeks because of the required thoroughness, and to comment on the intended nomination of the candidates in their constituencies.

The constituencies will be stipulated in such a way that there will be no more than 8 to 10 candidates, which makes it easier for the citizens to get to know them and to judge them.

The nomination of the candidates and the confirmation of their order on the election proposal will take place publicly in every constituency—like the counting of the votes.

What Is the Aim of the Elections?

We want to entrust the care of the towns and villages to those who are firmly committed to our socialist fatherland in their thinking and acting. We elect persons who are well-known and respected for their dedicated work for the well-being of the people, men, women, and young people from all classes and strata, who are familiar with the concerns of the citizens and who can work for them with devotion in the people's representative bodies, citizens who enjoy your confidence.

The 1.7 million young voters and those who vote for the first time will demonstrate that the GDR's youth advocates firmly the position of socialism. It fights among the first ranks for peace and socialism. Young people should increasingly be elected to the people's representative bodies. Socialism that we create jointly remains forever young because the future belongs to it.

How they are informed specifically about policy goals, what they know about local tasks, and how their proposals and ideas are taken up and answered will continue to be decisive for the cooperation of all citizens. Thus, everyone who bears political responsibility in our country is obliged to listen attentively to what moves citizens and what they ask them to consider. There must be a joint discussion about what must be done to improve everyday life in the towns and villages.

In accordance with our laws and practices, men and women who are standing as candidates for the position of directors of kreis courts, judges, lay judges, or members of the arbitration commissions also present themselves at the election meetings.

Let us take every opportunity to get to know our candidates better. Let us examine them. They should be people like us who pledge that, together with us, they will do everything possible to achieve progress in our towns and villages, our socialist home country, the GDR. For this reason, we vote for our candidates of the National Front on 7 May!

This is our Appeal to all Citizens in the Towns and Villages
—let us contribute to strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace through high-level achievements!
—let us pursue the tested policy for the well-being of the people!
—let us make use of the democratic possibilities in shaping a meaningful life!
—for the flourishing of our towns and villages, for the strengthening of our socialist fatherland, the GDR!

Vote for the candidates on the National Front on 7 May!

FRG's Engholm Arrives, Begins Official Visit

Holds Meeting With Honecker

LD3102204189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's council of State, today received Bjoern Engholm, prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein, current president of the FRG's Bundesrat, and member of the SPD Presidium, for talks at the Council of State building. Bjoern Engholm is on an official visit to the GDR at the invitation of Erich Honecker.

The meeting took place in an open and constructive atmosphere. It served the exchange of opinions on current issues of the international situation, the relations between the two German states, and possibilities for cooperation between the GDR and Schleswig-Holstein.

Erich Honecker and Bjoern Enghol agreed that securing peace and disarmament, removing the danger of nuclear war had to be at the center of responsible policies and that this was also a key issue in the relationship between two German states.

The parties pointed out that signs of a turn from confrontation toward disarmament are visible, even if much still gives cause for concern. In accordance with the joint belief that war should never again emanate from German soil—but only peace—both German states have been—in the 50th year since the start of World War II—more than ever called on to work for disarmament, security, and confidence-building in Europe on their own initiatives. They had to support further disarmament steps following the conclusion of the treaty on the removal of the Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles. In this, it was a matter of halving the U.S. and USSR's strategic weapons while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, the global banning of chemical weapons, the ending of nuclear tests, and drastic reduction in the conventional area from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Erich Honecker pointed out that the USSR is making a prior concession by the disarmament steps announced by Mikhail Gorbachev. The GDR supported this initiative. In order to make a constructive contribution to the disarmament process, it had itself decided to reduce NVA [National People's Army] by 10,000 by the end of 1990 and to reduce defense expenditure by 10 percent.

The duty of peace of both German states requires the FRG to make an active contribution towards disarmament. Relevant actions by the FRG Government were expected. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence still upheld by it was increasingly losing its justification. It had to be replaced by a policy of mutual security; this had to be achieved through the defense-only capability of the two military alliances.

Erich Honecker stressed that after the successful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE meeting, it would be a good start if the conferences on conventional disarmament and confidence building were to advance quickly.

Quoting the proposals worked out by the working groups of the SED and SPD, Erich Honecker and Bjoern Engholm stressed the significance of such regional solutions in Europe such as the creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone, a zone of trust and security, and a chemical weapon-free zone. It was pointed out that the reduction and removal of short-range nuclear systems was of vital importance for the two German states. Both officials spoke in favour of starting negotiations on this. The aim had to be to make German soil nuclear-weapon free. It should not be allowed that the first steps in disrmament should be brought to nought by the modernization of short-range nuclear systems.

The GDR will continue in the future to do everything in its power to advance disarmament, detente, and dialogue.

Bjoern Engholm underlined the SPD's efforts for disarmament, security, and confidence-building. His party is working toward reducing military threats in Europe and overcoming the doctrine of nuclear deterrence with a concept of joint security.

The two sides stressed in this connection the dialogue between the SED and SPD on security policy questions. They praised the joint SED-SPD paper entitled "The Battle of the Ideologies and Joint Secrity" as an expression of the two sides' striving to seek coperation for the safeguarding of peace and detente over and above any ideological confrontation.

Erich Honecker stated that the GDR attached great significance to relations with the FRG, not least with regard to peace in Europe. The two sides agreed that Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in 1987 gave fresh impetus to relations between the two German states. Erich Honecker referred to the GDR's firm intention to continue to flesh out the stipulations made in the 8 September 1987 joint communique. This was also expected of the FRG. Here it is important that the two states are guided by recognition of the realities, respect for sovereignty, non-interference, and consideration for legitimate mutual interests. Issues such as respect for GDR citizenship and the Elbe frontier should be solved speedily, and the so-called Salzgitter Registry should be dismantled in this spirit. The two sides spoke out in favor of the long-overdue introduction of normal relations between the People's Chamber and Bundestag.

The proposal to include the city of Kiel in local border traffic was received positively by the GDR. It was agreed that Bjoern Engholm's idea of creating central European committees of experts in various areas, for example environmental protection, economy and technology, will be considered.

The talk was attended by: State Secretary Joachim Hermann, head of the chancellery of the State Council chairman; Gunter Retner, head of the International Politics and Economy Department in the SED Central Committee; Karl Seidel, head of the FRG Department in the Foreign Ministry; Secretary of State Dr Stefan Pelny, head of the Chancellery of Schleswig-Holstein; Guenter Gaus; and Franz Juergen Staab, FRG charge d'affaires.

Honecker Hosts Dinner

LD3101210389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1813 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, hosted a dinner in honor of Bjoern Engholm, prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein, president of the FRG Bundesrat, and member of the SPD presidium, at the Unter den Linden Palace tonight. It was attended on the GDR side by the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann, Egon Krenz, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, and Inge Lange, and Culture Minister Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the chancellery of the State Council chairman; Dr Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry; Guenter Rettner, head of the Central Committee International Politics and Economics Department; Kurt Nier, deputy foreign minister; Karl Seidel, head of the FRG department in the Foreign Ministry, and Ambassador Franz Jahsnowski, chief of protocol.

It was attended on the FRG side by: Dr Stefan Pelny, head of the chancellery of the prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein; Guenter Gaus; Franz Juergen Staab, FRG charge d'affaires; government spokesman Herbert Wessels; and member of the State Chancellery Dr Winfried Suehlo.

Diplomatic Ties Established With ROK 1 Feb

*LD0102114789 Budapest MTI in English
0815 GMT 1 Feb 89*

[Text] Seoul, February 1 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Korea established full diplomatic relations on Wednesday. The related interstate note was signed in Seoul by Gyula Horn, state secretary of foreign affairs, and Choe Ho-chung, foreign minister.

The two countries concluded inter-governmental agreements on cultural cooperation, on the abolition of visas for the holders of diplomatic and service passports, and on economic and commercial cooperation. On the Hungarian side, the latter agreement was signed by Deputy Minister of Trade Zoltan Gombocz.

In the international press conference, following the signing ceremony, the South Korean foreign minister said that preparations for the establishment (?of diplomatic) relations had been made in the spirit of President No Tae-u's foreign policy.

Gyula Horn delivered a greetings message on behalf of the Hungarian Government. His words were translated, at variance with protocol, by Sandor Etre, head of (?Hungary) [words indistinct].

The state secretary emphasized that although the establishment of diplomatic relations was a usual event in international life, this concrete step was still extraordinary because of the [word indistinct] covered and the difficulties surmounted by the two sides. Mr Horn said that Hungary seeks to make with this step a contribution to strengthening international peace and security. He expressed the conviction that the establishment of relations would promote the causes of peace and security on the Korean peninsula as well. The state secretary emphasized that preparations for other agreements, such as inter-governmental accords on technical, scientific and veterinary cooperation, were under way.

Mr Horn paid a courtesy visit to President No Tae-u and handed over the message of the HSWP general secretary. Later on, the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic was inaugurated.

News Conference Details USSR Troop Withdrawal

*LD3101204789 Budapest MTI in English
1743 GMT 31 Jan 89*

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—Under the terms of the Soviet Government's resolution on the unilateral reduction of Armed Forces and armaments, 22 Soviet military units are to be withdrawn from Hungary, including a tank division, a tank-training regiment, a battalion of assault landing troops, a fighter plane regiment, a chemical defence battalion and a military staff school. Details of the previously announced Soviet troop withdrawal were given to representatives of the Hungarian and the international press on Tuesday in the house of Soviet Culture and Science by Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, Colonel-General Matvei Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary, and Army General Fedot Krivda, representative in Hungary of the commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

In his press statement, Mr Burlakov said that following the current troop withdrawal, the staff of the Southern Army Group will be reduced by more than 10,000: Some 2,400 officers and ensigns, and about 8,000 non-commissioned officers and soldiers are to leave Hungary.

The amount of artillery will also be considerably reduced: More than 450 tanks, more than 200 guns and trench mortars, and more than 3,000 cars and other means will be withdrawn. In the course of the troop withdrawal, to be carried out in several stages, the tank division and the tank-training regiment will be the first to leave the country in May-June. The fighter plane regiment and the battalion of assault landing troops will leave Hungary in the second half of the year. The other units will be withdrawn in 1990, and the partial troop withdrawal will be completed by the end of that year.

Preparation of the smooth withdrawal of troops, the large numbers and the major military technology involved imply considerable tasks for the Soviet military leadership. They would like the procedure to cause minimum obstruction to traffic and disturbance of the population. The troops will mainly be transported by railway, for which, according to calculations, some 80 railway carriages will be required.

Colonel-General Burlakov also mentioned that following the withdrawal, 11 Soviet garrisons will be closed and facilities handed over to the Hungarian side. The facilities include numerous monuments, for instance, the Grassalkovich Castle in Godollos, and the building of historical value next to the Basilica in Esztergom.

Among other things, the Soviet troops will hand over some 900 flats, 19 barracks, and 40 facilities will also be freed which were built by the Southern Army Group at a cost of some 36 million roubles. The order and means of handing over the facilities is shortly to be coordinated by the Soviet and Hungarian authorities in charge.

The commander particularly stressed that, in accordance with the defence doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet troops will be drawn back from the Austrian border. He voiced his conviction that the withdrawal of troops from Szombathely, Mosonmagyarovar, Fertod and Gyor will provide a practical example for the creation of a security zone.

After giving the time-table of the troops withdrawal, the Soviet leaders answered questions of journalists.

The correspondent of "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG" (WEEKLY WORLD ECONOMY) asked whether the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary is conceivable in the long term. In his answer, Ambassador Stukalin recalled that the Soviet Government has on several occasions called for the need to dismantle the two opposing military-political blocks, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. However, as long as the military blocks exist, it is unavoidable that the troops of the Warsaw Treaty, taking the requirements of strategy into consideration and on the basis of inter-governmental agreements with the concerned countries, be stationed in the various regions. The Soviet Union continues to uphold its proposal that the withdrawal of troops stationed abroad should be carried out simultaneously. The European conventional arms reduction forum to open in Vienna in spring will create the conditions to realize the proposal.

The correspondent of Hungarian television asked Army General Krivda about the relation between the followers of perestroyka and the conservative forces in the leadership of the Soviet Army, and if there was opposition to the unilateral troop withdrawal. The Army general replied: "The entire people are united in that the troop reductions should be realized to the degree announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly. We have declared to the whole world, and this is the key element of the defence doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty, that we do not strive to uphold larger armed forces than our NATO opponent. Our Armed Forces only serve the aim of guaranteeing our security and that of our friends."

Defense Official on Warsaw Pact Strength Data

LD3101101889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2022 GMT 30 Jan 89

[From the "Panorama" program; interview in studio with Colonel General Lajos Morocz, state secretary in the Ministry of Defense, by unidentified program presenter—live]

[Text] [Presenter] In this morning's papers you could read unusual things. Huge tables show the military strength of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, with precise numbers, with numbers and data that formerly would have been considered top secret. Nothing like this could have appeared in our country before this. Severe punishment was the rule for the disclosure of similar figures.

I welcome to our studio Colonel General Lajos Morocz, state secretary in the Ministry of Defense. My first question is that until now such a thing could not have happened, and now it can. So what has happened?

[Morocz] In my opinion, nothing unexpected has happened, because a very important element in the process of reducing armed forces and arms—at least at the start of this process, in bringing the asymmetries to the surface—is the reciprocal publication of data and their comparison.

[Presenter] Why should we believe these data? Why should we not think that there is some embellishment in this, or, as people are wont to say in Budapest, we are feeding things to the opponent?

[Morocz] Why should we believe it? In essence, what is the guarantee—if I understand the question correctly—that these data are truthful? There is a double guarantee: honesty and the possibility of control. We honestly want trust to strengthen, and we have a very important interest in having the data that we publish reflect reality. On the other hand, we are prepared, on a reciprocal basis, for the truthfulness of these data to be checked on the spot by the other side.

[Presenter] The Soviet Union now has determined significant reductions. For example, it will also withdraw from Hungary an armored division. In Budapest parlance, what will this bring to the cooking pot? How much, for instance, has supplying the Soviet troops stationed here cost us so far?

[Morocz] The withdrawal of Soviet troops means, in essence, that establishments [objektumov] within the establishments-monuments establish, a few....

[Presenter, interrupting] Castles?

[Morocz] Yes, for example, the building belonging to the Esztergom Basilica, or the Grassalkovich Castle in Godollo, and also some other monument buildings will be liberated to become housing development. The competent organs are working to utilize these. On the other hand, this does not mean a cost savings for the Hungarian state, for the cost of the troops of the Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary, starting from the big things right up to and including telephone bills, is covered by the Soviet state. So, it is not we who maintain the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary; rather, they maintain themselves.

[Presenter] However, if a division is withdrawn, will we not have to spend more on our defense? Will we not remain undefended?

[Morocz] The present European processes—the detente, the cuts in armed forces—are developing in such a way that additional Hungarian forces do not have to be used in place of the withdrawn Soviet troops. In other words, our side does not have to make up for this withdrawal. We will not remain undefended.

[Presenter] Because we are talking about money, we are members of the Warsaw Pact. The question arises: What is the membership fee we pay for this?

[Morocz] With regard to the membership fee—if one can, in any case, term this a membership fee, by analogy—then it is this: We jointly cover our joint commitments. Thus, for instance, we cover jointly the maintenance of the staff of the joint armed forces, of this coalition staff-sector organization, and the guaranteeing of its leadership conditions. And this is done in proportion to our participation in the joint armed forces.

[Presenter] How much does this cost?

[Morocz] Annually, annually, the proportion that falls on us—I take 100 percent as a basis—is a few percent. In the past year it was R800,000.

[Presenter] R800,000. There is no hard currency involved in this?

[Morocz] There is not.

[Presenter] In any case, considering the numbers of the Hungarian Army, its strength, and the amounts spent on it, where do we rank among the Warsaw Pact member states?

[Morocz] Well, if we study the published data, then we can see that the Hungarian People's Army—both with regard to its numbers and its arms—is the smallest within the Warsaw Pact. This demonstrates several things. This shows that our Army's development in the recent years was not excessive, and that we took cognizance of our geopolitical situation and not least of all of the country's economic possibilities.

[Presenter] Thank you for the conversation.

Politburo Calls 10 Feb Central Committee Meeting

LD3101194689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] The MSZMP Politburo at its session today has convened the Central Committee for 10 February. It proposes for its agenda a discussion of topical political issues.

Presidential Council Holds 27 Jan Session

AU3001142589 Budapest MTI in English 1520 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 27/01/1989—The Hungarian Presidential Council met in session on Friday [27 January].

The council passed a decision on the establishment of diplomatic relations on ambassadorial level with the Republic of Korea. Forty one villages were granted the status of a city, and Kecskemet, Nyiregyhaza and Szekesfehervar became cities with the rank of a county, a status held by the eight largest cities. The Presidential Council surveyed last year's citizenship issues. In 1988, the council discussed 167 clemency affairs, and granted clemency in 15 cases. The majority of applications for Hungarian citizenship were made by settlers from Romania, who justified their request by marriage with a Hungarian citizen, or family relations. The applications were rejected in 15 cases (1.6 per cent) for the absence of conditions specified by law. The number of applications for release from Hungarian citizenship dropped by almost 10 per cent. These applications were also justified by personal and family conditions. Six per cent of applications were rejected since the applicants had either a criminal record or wished to be released from Hungarian citizenship without the intention of settling abroad. On the basis of agreements on the elimination of dual citizenship, the status of 474 minors was settled.

The Presidential Council passed a law decree on savings deposits, which ends the monopolistic situation of the National Savings Bank and the savings cooperatives.

The Presidential Council passed decisions on appointments, relieved and elected judges, and decided on clemency affairs.

The Presidential Council appointed Laszlo Udvari state secretary of transport, telecommunication and construction with effect from February 1, 1989.

Rezso Nyers Assesses Current Policy, Tasks

AU2701094989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of state, in the National Assembly in Budapest, by Zsuzsa Gal: "The Three Dimensions of Hungarian Policy"; date not given]

[Text] No matter which background institution he worked for, like his last job at the Institute of Economic Sciences, Rezso Nyers has always been one of those who set Hungarian policy. Now he has again become a "high-level official." After almost 15 years he is again a member of the Politburo and has a government job. The words "minister of state" are written in gold on the door of his office in parliament.

[Gal] How do you feel in this house, in parliament?

[Nyers] I have been coming to this house for a long time, ever since the beginning of 1948, when I became a deputy. The building perhaps seems a little oppressive to me, but it still fills me with a solemn feeling, in addition to the fact that to this very day I still cannot find my way through the corridors. As for my government job, namely my present work, my feelings are beginning to emerge. I took this job both in my heart and my mind because I felt that I had to accept if they asked me to participate in an activity with which I agreed and to which I could contribute. Thus, I have a sense of duty and of accepting responsibility, and I identify with the task. However, I also am uncertain what I will be able to carry out.

[Gal] Concerning what?

[Nyers] A political consolidation and solving the economic crisis. These are the tasks that I can take upon myself. I only take short-term things on myself; I only think in the long term.

The Cabinet

[Gal] What is your task and line of activity in the government?

[Nyers] My task is to direct the preparations for economic reforms within the government. Many things are included in this activity, from the financial and organizational development of our economy to mechanisms of interest coordination. This is my official task. In addition, as a member of the government in my function as minister of state, and even as a member of the government's leadership, of the so-called cabinet, I also participate in the entire activity of the government. One could say this is the general staff of the government. This is because for the government to be able to conduct a firm and clear policy and to have the people accept it, the concepts of this policy should first be worked out and discussed by a narrower circle. Therefore, we are talking here about an activity to develop a concept.

I do not derive the responsibility of government members from the body's responsibilities, but I consider the premier's special responsibility to be the main responsibility; the premier is responsible for the activity of the entire government, and the premier has a dual responsibility: a governmental responsibility, and a personal one in his own sphere of affairs. Thus, in my opinion—and I hope there will be such a constitutional solution—the premier is not only the chairman of the Council of Ministers but also the person elected by parliament or nominated by the president and invested with the confidence of parliament to conduct a policy.

[Gal] And the cabinet is meant to help the premier?

[Nyers] Yes. Such a nucleus of political initiatives and activity is a condition for a government engaged in politics. It can function only to the benefit of the whole government, and by no means instead or above the government. In relations between the government and the National Assembly, the task of the government should not be limited to submitting draft bills. Bills should also be prepared politically. Thus, it should not happen that the deputies for the first time discuss an issue which is already in the form of a draft bill. For example, up to now the annual budget has usually been submitted to parliament in December. For the deputies to be able to learn about the budget, this should be done much earlier, in October, September, or even earlier. This preparation could take place in committee sessions or even in plenary sessions, because the budget debate is a political act that comprises almost every political issue. For example, the Bos-Nagymaros issue is not a budget issue in the strictest sense of the word; is an important part of policy, and therefore, it is no accident that it also came up in the budget debate.

[Gal] Therefore, would the cabinet also be in charge of the political preparation of a draft bill?

[Nyers] Yes. Its task would be to select the main budgetary problems from the points of view of economic policy or cultural policy, and then start the social debate on them.

[Gal] Let us return to your activity within the government. What apparatus do you have? What offices are hierarchically subordinated to you?

[Nyers] The committee engaged in coordinating the reform activity, which officially is known as the Economic Management Consultative Committee. This committee is led by a deputy minister and has a small apparatus. This belongs to me.

[Gal] Is that all?

[Nyers] That is all. I do not direct apparatuses but rather try to make the most out of the intellectual forces of science, practice, and interest representation, and apply these ideas in the reform processes. I maintain partnership relations with various bodies on matters of reform, such as the Government Advisory Committee.

Social Partnership

[Gal] You speak of reform, but this word means different things to different people. Therefore, I would rather ask you what you consider to be the most important thing for Hungary's progress.

[Nyers] In my view, Hungarian politics is now trying to advance in three major dimensions. The first is to improve our position in the world economy. The essence of this task is for us to open up to the world economy and, by doing so, to halt our lagging behind, a process that began in the eighties, and then to begin approaching the financially stable and technically developing countries. This depends on the reform, our economic policy, and naturally, also on international politics.

The second dimension is to help develop a social partnership in our domestic economic and cultural policy, to eliminate the shortage or functional disturbances of relevant institutions, and to help them function smoothly. We have experienced functional disturbances in the trade unions lately, and the trade unions should play a very large role today. In the seventies, and even at the beginning of the eighties, the trade union leadership drifted toward a direction in which they eventually followed a policy that went against the future of the country. Even at that time we lost the opportunity to attain a higher standard of living. In other words, that leadership achieved economic "results" that proved to be very short-lived and that have since dissipated.

[Gal] I do not understand what you are driving at.

[Nyers] In 1985, when the question came up of whether to advance on the road of reforms or to instead begin unfounded economic growth, the trade union leadership at the time favored the latter. This policy indeed created better conditions for 1 year, but, as a rule, these conditions vanished before the masses had a chance to feel the favorable effects, and the ensuing crisis became even deeper. I mention this because this was also the result of a mistaken role assumed by the trade unions. Perhaps the trade unions will now find their real task and will protect the people's everyday life and, hopefully, will also recognize the interests of the country's future. There are also other organizations and social partners. The way that I envision a partnership is first of all that we should work out a partnership of various interest representations within society, and only then a partnership between these organizations and the government.

I consider the economic policy and the creation of conditions for future economic growth and greater incomes to be the third dimension of progress, along with easing economic limitations, improving the financial system, reforming the economic structure, establishing a competitive environment, and creating the need for economic performance. I see these three as tasks which it is both possible and necessary to implement, and I myself am also participating in resolving all these tasks.

[Gal] As for the first task, our role in the world economy and Hungary's relations with CEMA are part of this role. What is your opinion about the reform efforts within CEMA and about Hungary's role in these efforts?

[Nyers] The various CEMA reforms so far have all suffered from the incurable ailment of trying to force multilateral planning solutions on nonmarket economies, which is something that naturally could not work. A multilateral character can emerge only in the case of functioning markets. Ideas of competing with the unifying internal West European market and already searching for a unified CEMA market as a possible solution—ideas one can also hear from respected experts in friendly countries—are leading toward the wrong track. Although the use of such reform categories gives the appearance of reforms, in reality this would lead to the death of reforms in the member countries. I am convinced that only the reform of individual national economies can lead to progress and to the eventual creation of a uniform CEMA market. In the meantime, bilateral relations can be reformed, relations on which multilateral market relations can be built at a later stage.

The Socialist "Benelux"

[Gal] How can Hungary develop its bilateral relations within CEMA?

[Nyers] The most urgent task facing us is to try to radically renew the methods of bilateral cooperation with our biggest trade partner, the Soviet Union. In connection with this, various ideas are currently being prepared in Hungarian economic policy workshops, ideas that could bring this important relation to the fore from within the obsolete routine mechanism.

We can apply market methods more easily in our economic cooperation with countries that are closer to us geographically and whose economic mechanism is close to ours. We can even have trilateral cooperation, in addition to bilateral cooperation. I could give even the Benelux countries as an example. I can imagine in the future the gradual emergence of a socialist-type "Benelux" within CEMA among countries with close relations. I mean here first the CSSR and Yugoslavia, but Poland can also be considered.

[Gal] In connection with the aforementioned second dimension, namely the domestic policy institutions, I must ask you, as one of the founders of the New March Front, what is the goal of your latest published proposal? Should we interpret it as the basis for creating a coalition, or as the beginning of a new, immaculate people's front?

[Nyers] The goal of this proposal is to facilitate a smooth transition to reformed political institutions to be established in the spirit of the new constitution. We have formulated three alternatives for this transition to demonstrate that several solutions are possible. The selection will naturally be carried out on the basis of political agreement by the decisionmakers, if there is readiness for such an agreement. Indeed, we regard the coalition of independent political organizations and movements as the fundamental means of a smooth development of parliamentary democracy. The party should initiate such a coalition, and the present PPF could be one of the participants in this coalition. The proposed national committee is a temporary solution, but a new people's front could emerge from this, a people's front that would no longer carry out constitutional functions but which rather would serve as a framework for political cooperation.

[Gal] My next question is a subjective one. While I greatly sympathized with the economic reform concepts, I did not think that their implementation would accompany such a drastic decrease in the standard of living and, subsequently, such great indignation on the part of the population. This is shocking to me. How do you feel about this?

[Nyers] My romantic expectations connected with the reform gradually faded away with the dragging on of the reform process, and then they disappeared completely. In 1979, when we were talking about a major decrease in the standard of living, I opposed it because I still believed that we could also carry out restructuring and improve our international financial situation by actually preserving the standard of living. But, contrary to the reform concepts of 1968, we preferred the extra income, the social allowances instead of the real wages in our system of income distribution, and we thus fell into a gap. In the past 15 years, the old leadership was unable to create a profitable production structure, while it extended the channels of the so-called social and welfare distribution. Thus, with the exception of 1 year, real wages have constantly fallen since 1979. This nonfunctional [diszfunkcionalis] distribution has maintained and even increased social discontent. One should reform this distribution system so as to increase the proportion of income deriving from work, and to allocate social allowances in a system that meets with greater social satisfaction. However, the main problem has always been that overall income grew very little. Indeed, this fact caused a decrease in consumption, and this led to inflation.

Crisis and Reform

[Gal] Thus, you suspected that the implementation of reform concepts would be accompanied by a decrease in the standard of living?

[Nyers] Not only I, but others also believed this. It must have been in 1984, in any case, at the start of the Gorbachev era, that we argued in a circle of economic experts for reform, and two views confronted each other. According to one concept, we should start a rapid development of reform and take advantage of the favorable international conditions. The other concept found this too dangerous: They said that we should not link the reform with managing the economic crisis because this could lead to discrediting the reform policy, and so we should first stabilize our economy. I clearly remember that Marton Tardos and I favored the latter view. Today, however, I no longer think that those concepts could have been implemented. Neither of these solutions would have been effective because theoretical concepts cannot lead to action. But the Gorbachev effect also carried us, and so we had to continue the reform under crisis circumstances. One could see, however, that serious disturbances would emerge from this, that crisis management and reform would get mixed up, and that people would become confused. All this has happened today.

[Gal] However, at the beginning of our discussion, speaking of your own work, you mentioned the solution of this crisis. Nowadays, one cannot hear such optimistic formulations.

[Nyers] Look, every crisis in the world has been resolved so far. The question is who solved it. It is not optimistic to say that it is the obligation of the government in power to solve the crisis, and we are working on this. We should start this, and this is a tough man's work.

[Gal] Do you mean that it is possible to solve this crisis?

[Nyers] I do not consider it something impossible to solve; the question is, rather, how much time we have to solve it and whether social peace can be maintained that long. By social peace I mean a smooth social coexistence and social communication, and not a lack of debates and arguments. There can be social peace together with debates and arguments.

[Gal] On what are you relying when you search for ways of solving this crisis? How will you start this?

[Nyers] I rely on both experiences and intuition. I think that this cannot be planned like a building on a drawing board. We are studying the solutions found by medium-developed countries similar to us. We have examined the "little tigers" of Southeast Asia, and Turkey, Greece, Israel, Chile, Argentine, and Brazil. Each of them has its own problems but all of them have extricated themselves from their previous difficult situations. However, we cannot simply adopt their solutions. That is why I say that one should also rely on intuition. Of course, I do not mean here an individual use of intuition, for we should be able to make these feelings collective. This is in fact the subject of our exchanges of views in our government activity and in the work committee in charge of preparing the reform.

Berecz Views Period of 'Revolutionary Reforms'

LD2801235989 Budapest MTI in English
2212 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 28 (MTI)—A representative of the Glasnost Club proposed that the General Assembly should issue a statement, declaring that it supports what used to be qualified as samizdat press. A contributor called upon the General Assembly to support the appeal of the New March Front.

Another contributor, addressing his words to the political leadership, stressed that restructuring should be accelerated rather than slowed down in the field of the press as well. Some general socio-political issues such as corruption were also raised in the debate.

Some contributors reported on the specific problems of the staffs of local TV stations, the journalists of factory papers, retired journalists and free-lancers.

The General Assembly accepted, with a majority of votes, the reports put forward by General Secretary Karoly Megyeri, the Control Committee and the Ethical Committee.

Then Janos Berecz, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee and member of the Political Committee, took the floor. He emphasized that there is a period of revolutionary reforms in the country and that the process of democratic construction is irreversible. It is a danger however, that the HSWP, the largest and strongest political organization, is not entirely suitable for directing the processes since it has to settle its own ranks, and the other political organizations are not prepared for being involved in power. The social tension and crisis of confidence prevailing in society are also hindering the emergence of favourable processes.

Mr Berecz said that there can only be a single level of openness. The HSWP has to take a stand for the freedom of press and the freedom of expression. The monopolies related to paper, press and distribution should be eliminated. It should be prevented that the exercise of these freedoms is limited by financial factors.

National unity may develop from compromise to coalition. Mr Berecz held it desirable for MUOSZ [National Federation of Hungarian Journalists] to take a united stand on the main issues so that journalists could contribute to the success of the reform of political institutions.

Then the General Assembly started to discuss proposals for modifying the work of MUOSZ and amending its basic documents.

Berecz, Pozsgay Attend Journalists Assembly

LD2801025489 Budapest MTI in English
2203 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—As reported, the general assembly of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists (MUOSZ) opened in Budapest on Friday [27 January], with 600 delegates representing more than 5,500 members. Participants included Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, members of the HSWP Political Committee.

The time of the meeting was brought forward from its original date in 1990 in reaction to an acceleration in social processes. The discussion is aimed at renewing the association's work, in keeping with the process of social democratization. Prior to the general assembly, the MUOSZ board commissioned an ad hoc committee to summarize the outcome of relevant conversations held in local groups and technical departments, and the draft rules and code of conduct of MUOSZ were put up for debate.

In his report on the work of the board since 1985, MUOSZ general secretary, Karoly Megyeri, admitted that, failing to respond to the call of time, part of the journalist world had contributed to the sustained unfavourable tendencies in the life of society. It was certain, however, that the association had always been composed of journalists of various ways of thinking, reformists and conservatives alike.

In 1986, MUOSZ spoke out for the expansion of press publicity, denying that newspaper writing was playing attendance on politics, the general secretary said. The Glasnost Club came into being in response to calls for more radical reforms. True, the MUOSZ leadership did not espouse the cause of the Glasnost Club, but neither did it object to its formation.

The May party conference lent new impetus to the reform of the system of political institutions. Sharp criticism about the work of MUOSZ was justified insofar as it belatedly reacted to the new political processes, said Mr Megyeri, and expressed the conviction that MUOSZ should be intellectually open. There was also a possibility for safeguarding unity based on a strong sense of vocation and commitment to the national cause. He stressed the need for MUOSZ to participate in reinterpreting the relationship of political power and social publicity.

On Saturday, the general assembly will continue with a discussion of the report.

Journalists Want New Structure

LD2901224689 Budapest MTI in English
2131 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—In the interest of democratic renewal, the general assembly of the Hungarian Journalists' Union (MUOSZ) approved a statement of principles on the necessity of changing the structure of the union. Lajos Burgert of the "Kelet-Magyarorszag" daily put forward a comprehensive draft, proposing that the local MUOSZ groups should establish independent, autonomous regional organizations, and the sections of the union be granted full autonomy.

The draft gave rise to a keen debate which led to compromises. For instance, the general assembly declared that the statement had only a principled nature, and the rules were still approved on the basis of the old structure. Decisions on the final changes are to be made by a constitutional MUOSZ general assembly to be held not later than next September.

After a long voting procedure, Gyorgy Balo was elected president, and Tamas Szego general secretary of the Hungarian Journalists' Union. The general assembly elected a 15-member board, and ethical and control committees.

The general assembly approved some statements and appeals. One of them took a stand for the freedom of the press: "publicity is single and indivisible. The journalist cannot make a distinction between first and second publicity"..."we recognize the samizdat papers' right of existence". Another statement expressed deep concern over the fact that the internationally recognized principles of the freedom of the press are continuously violated in Romania and the national minorities' press is exposed to particularly discriminative measures. MUOSZ protested against the anti-popular and anti-press practice of the Romanian policy, and called upon the colleagues rallied by the International Organization of Journalists to express solidarity with their colleagues, Romanians and non-Romanians alike, who had been dismissed and persecuted for their conviction and views in Romania.

The general assembly took a stand for revising the procedure of appointing editors-in-chief, and insisted on the right of the editorial staffs to make proposals and raise vetos during the procedure.

Pozsgay Views Political-Economic Reform Link

LD2901003289 Budapest MTI in English
2303 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 28 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state, delivered a paper entitled "Democracy and Enterprise" at the two-day national conference of young economists in Salgotarjan. As a preliminary, he spoke of the debate about the relationship between economy and democracy.

'Many people ask it with some incomprehension: Why don't we put first the economy back on its feet and then, when we are rich, we can afford the luxury of living in democracy.' Polemizing with this standpoint, Mr Pozsgay pointed out that the economy has to be relieved, first of all, of the effects that have made it inoperative. For instance, the forcefully created integrations should be replaced by organic ones, and not only in the economy but in the political and social sphere as well.

Mr Pozsgay emphasized that the social and economic conditions which provide appropriate scope for the market and for the entrepeneur who is not lavish in using the resources can only be created through a transformation of the political scope of movement and structure.

Csaba Csaki, rector of the Karl Marx University of Economics, spoke about the transformation of the Hungarian economy and the related conception. He stressed the necessity of elaborating a radically new model which reckons with the transformation of property relations and motivation, makes social property efficient, and provides equal treatment for social, private and individual property. The new socialist economic alternative focusses on the market based on enterprise, and includes a monetary market, a labour market, and a market of capital goods which makes it possible for individuals to reap incomes from capital and even from foreign investments.

At the end of the first day, the managers of well-known small cooperatives spoke about the current mood of entrepreneurs.

Kotai Interviewed on Constitution, Amendments

LD3101155989 Budapest MTI in English
1510 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—The part of Hungary's draft constitution related to foreign policy was the subject of an interview Geza Kotai, head of the Department for International Party Relations of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, gave to the Hungarian news agency. He said that the democratic transformation of social conditions, mainly the introduction of the Law on Association, and the ensuing emergence of new organizations, might also create a new situation for Hungary's international activity. As international activity had ceased to be the monopoly of diplomats and conventional social and mass organizations, it was necessary for the new constitution clearly to formulate the principles and basic national interests that must be observed by all participants in Hungary's international relations.

It was purposeful for the basic law to stipulate that the institutions and citizens of the Hungarian state, as well as the parties, organizations and associations in Hungary, must not violate the principles of the UN Charter, commitments undertaken under international agreements, general human rights regulations and the principles and norms of the European system of peace, security and cooperation.

Nevertheless, this circumstance could in no way mean a demand for these organizations and people unanimously to represent the state's foreign policy in the international arena. Criticism of concrete political moves could not be ruled out, should its way and form match Hungary's national interests on the whole.

The Constitution should also stipulate, Mr Kotai said, that a large number of Hungarians live beyond the borders as ethnic minorities or otherwise. it was important to state that the Hungarian People's Republic regards as Hungarian all those living abroad who declare themselves to be Hungarian, in the spirit of national responsibility and friendship among nations and on the basis of the common historic past and intellectual heritage. Hungary considered the dual linkage of foreign-resident Hungarians an opportunity for furthering understanding and friendly cooperation with other countries and peoples.

To fulfil this role, rights were also needed. Therefore, it was necessary to adjust concepts and intentions to the new constitution. The Hungarian People's Republic, said Mr Kotai, in harmony with international rights and norms, is to mall efforts to enable all Hungarians living abroad to practise personal and collective rights, preserve their national identity and freely develop relations with the parent nation, respecting civic rights. This by no means amounts to interference with the internal affairs of other states.

The department for international party relations proposes that the new constitution should stipulate that the Hungarian People's Republic interprets and treats the keeping in contact of all foreign-resident Hungarians with the parent nation and each other on the basis of identical principles, Mr Kotai said.

In this context, it was also expedient to declare that Hungary guarantees its subjects of foreign citizenship the right to keep in contact with their parent nation.

Sandor Barcs on Rajk Trial, 'Death Warrant'

LD2801222689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Jan 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpts] There will be no question of settling old scores, Imre Pozsgay has just said. Everybody should agree with this statement, but we are living in a period when slipped remarks, half sentences, and names and events long forgotten stir up storms, liberate hatred concealed until now, proving that the truth not yet uncovered, the wound untreated, can burden with further consequences the body that is already exhausted. The "168 Hours" program is taking part in the task of uncovering the immediate past. It was for this reason that we have decided to speak to Sandor Barcs, National Assembly deputy elected on the National Election List.

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to quote from two speeches of Laszlo Czoma, your fellow deputy. One of them goes like this: As long as hangman and victim are sitting on the same bench [in parliament] and the same state respect is due both of them, then there is no real democratism or real parliamentary democracy. The other goes like this: He who nominated to the National Election List, in the course of the national elections, as a deputy the person who participated in the Rajk trial, which is considered to be a political murder, thus ignored the crimes of the fifties. It is possible that I should not be starting this report—after all, you too signed the judgment in which Laszlo Rajk, Tibor Szonyi, and Andras Szalay were sentenced to death and Pal Jusztus to life imprisonment. [passage omitted]

[Barcs] You say now that as a layman I signed his death warrant. Of course I signed it—that was my duty, that was the reason I was taken there, not to ask questions; it was not even permitted to ask questions.

After all, others have also signed it. Imre Nagy also signed it in the Politburo. Did you not know? Well, take the trouble to find out. This subject was discussed by the Politburo and all members of the Politburo at the time they also signed it. [passage omitted]

Environmental Policy Council Established

AU2701125889 Budapest MTI in English 2037 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 25/01/1989—The Environmental Policy Council, an advisory body to the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management, responsible for preparing decisions, has been set up. Minister Laszlo Marothy said the body includes academicians, university professors, experts of the social unions and alternative organizations which operate in the fields of environmental and nature protection, and representatives of the churches, the ministries and the specialized ministry concerned. The government counts on the active participation of this body in working out its environmental protection policy. It would be desirable for it to discuss not only the themes submitted officially, but issues raised by members of the council as well, said Mr Marothy.

At the session, State Secre[illegible] Miklos Varga set forth the ministry report on the state of the country's environment. He stated that environmental protection in Hungary is similar to that in the averagely-developed countries. A fundamental task, he said, was to work out the general system and methods of environmental effect examinations. Several participants voiced objections over the material, noting that, in spite of the many details included, it did not provide a review on the changes of environment quality or its tendencies. They proposed an annual survey of the changes in flora and fauna, particularly the bird world, which is very sensitive to the development of the quality of the environment.

AIDS Specialist on Disease in Republic

LD2801193389 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 28 (MTI)—So far eleven AIDS patients have died in Hungary, said Professor Ferenc Varnai, director of the hospital specialized in the treatment of this disease, in the Hungarian television. Mr Varnai said that 169 infected people have been registered, and 44 are ill or in the pre-AIDS state. They include 28 haemophiliacs who received foreign blood preparations before 1986. (Since then Hungary has not imported blood preparations.) Many patients said that they had been infected in the FRG.

According to estimates, there are hundreds of infected people in Hungary who have not yet been registered.

Sejm Session Continues; Issues Debated

LD3101160189 Warsaw PAP in English 1521 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 31—The Polish parliament (Sejm) has received to an approving knowledge the basic assumptions of the National Economy Consolidation Plan for the years 1989-1990 as the government's plan of work in that period.

At the same time the Sejm obligates the government to include in its activities leading to the national economy consolidation the viewpoint and remarks made in the opinion issued by the Committee for National Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance, which was adopted after it had reviewed the above plan together with other deputy committees.

In its opinion included in the resolution, the Committee for National Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance said that the proposed plan of national economy consolidation for the years 1989-1990 offers some new conceptions. The committee stresses the special importance of full coherence between the economic and legal principles regulating in a systemic way the functioning of national economy and the principles and programme for structural changes within the economy, and the economic policy.

The aim is to create good starting point positions for entering another period of development in tune with a national socio-economic plan for the years 1991-1995 within the final two years of the national socio-economic plan for the period 1986-1990.

While noting the general agreement of views between the committee and the government concerning the formulation and aims of the National Economy Consolidation Plan, the committee believes that recognition is due to the activities leading to an improvement in the conditions of development in enterprise. The committee states, however, that the draft plan should lay more emphasis on direct supplies-boosting measures. The committee also notes that the proposed range of instruments for the materialisation of the consolidation plan causes various doubts and shows inconsistency in relation to the assumptions and goals of this plan which have been presented in the opinions of the individual deputy committees.

Particularly serious objections are against the thesis that no radical steps are planned for the coming four years (until 1992) in order the balance the central budget and that the budget will pay for slowing down the price hikes by maintaining high subsidies.

Many doubts are also about the concept to control the work without systemic links with greater effects of economic activity. This will not be a factor stimulating higher supplies but will push the prices up.

The condition of feasibility of the consolidation plan should be more emphasis and expansion in this plan of the so important goals as curbing inflation and balancing the market, chiefly through increasing the supplies.

The committee believes that the draft involved may be a basis for developing a national economy consolidation plan if the remarks, views, and proposals forwarded at the Sejm debate are analysed and allowed for. The committee is convinced that the so-prepared plan of consolidation in national economy for the years 1989-1990 can become a foundation of quicker extrication from the economic crisis.

Pomeranian Bay Issue Raised

LD3101205989 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 31—On the second-day debate here today the Sejm adopted a short resolution on the government Plan of National Economy Consolidation, introduced a number of corrections to the National Socio-Economic Plan and passed nine laws, all but one concerning the economic sphere.

The Sejm approved the key assumptions of the consolidation plan, pointing out that this was the government's programme of action. The government was put under an obligation to take account of the stand and remarks contained in the Sejm's opinion on the plan.

The two-day debate also concerned matters of a different nature. Deputy Stanislaw Miskiewicz, while referring to the key goals of the maritime policy, spoke of the need to complete the delimination of waters in the Pomeranian Bay. The question is distressing to Polish society. Four years have passed since the GDR Government one-sidedly demarcated the border of the territorial sea on the side of Poland but an end to the negotiations is nowhere in sight, said the deputy. I realize, he went on, that the ongoing negotiations are difficult. We do not have to conceal from society what is being currently done by the Polish side. Open presentation of the questions connected with the Pomeranian Bay is important for it may prevent the recurrence of mistakes made in the past, the deputy said.

Political detente emerging in Poland will become an important impulse in the economic reforms process—such conviction was voiced by Deputy Ryszard Lukasiewicz who counted on consolidation of all reformatory forces irrespective of political orientations and world outlooks.

Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula addressed himself to questions and doubts raised by the deputies.

The Sejm, at the motion of the prime minister, appointed Franciszek Gaik to the post of minister-head of the Central Planning Office which replaced the former Government Planning Commission and which has a completely different character.

Polish Ombudsman Ewa Letowska, appointed to the post in November 1987, presented her first report to the Sejm. She also contributed some reflections about the situation concerning Poland's performance on citizens' rights and freedoms.

Following government interpellations the Sejm made some changes in the composition of committees. Former Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner will now sit on the National Defence Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee. Vice- Premier Kazimierz Olesiak was recalled from the Farming Committee.

Central Committee Politburo Holds Session

LD3101222189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country today. It was emphasized that in the economic, political and social transformations which are taking place the decisive role is being played by the attitude of the working class. The striving of the working class to improve the quality of its work and life, as well as harmonious cooperation with the intelligentsia, outlines the depth and radicalism of the reforms.

The Politburo heard reports by members of the party leadership who visited workcrews and employees of various institutions last week and met with lecturers and students of higher education establishments, as well as inhabitants of rural areas and young people. The first secretaries of the party voivodship committees, as well as heads of PZPR Central Committee departments, took part in the meeting.

'Emotional Reactions' to Plenum

LD0102035289 Warsaw PAP in English 0100 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 31—The PUWP Political Bureau at a meeting attended by the first secretaries of the voivodship committees and heads of the PUWP CC departments held here today, assessed the socio-political situation in the country and stressed the decisive role of the working class attitude in the economic, political and social changes in Poland.

Presence and political activity of the party organizations is necessary in enterprises in times of rapid economic changes, within political and union pluralism, stated the participants in the debate. The party organizations are and will continue to be the essential part of the party, especially in the workers millieu. But their function changes: Their role of links which co-originate the party policy and decide its realization is growing.

The party in enterprises, it was stated, is not an organ responsible for their production, it cooperates with the management of an enterprise, but does not control it.

The party presence in enterprises is a safeguard of the development and expansion of the class labour movement. Political and union pluralism sets before the PUWP factory committees tasks to oppose any attempts of using the trade unions for political manipulation, of changing factories into centres of social unrest and breaking law. The party activity should be conducive to a business-like discussion on the optimal model of an independent trade union movement and proper forms of expressing variety of interests, views and opinions in an enterprise.

The Political Bureau listened to reports of the members of the party leadership who last week visited working crews and employees of various institutions, lecturers and students of higher schools, country inhabitants, and youth.

The talks and discussions, some of them in controversial tone, focussed on the problems of political and union pluralism, the national reconciliation in the wide sense, the roundtable debates, and guarantees indispensable for a consistent implementation of the economic reform.

The meetings confirmed that the decisions of the 10th plenum of the PUWP CC were received with great interest and, generally, they are supported by various millieux in towns and in the country. Sometimes, however, emotional reactions, stemming from misunderstanding of the substance of the party policies, appear. Workers often voiced fear of divisions within crews, escalation of political struggle in enterprises, harmful to the protection of employee interests.

Preparations for changes in organizational structures of the central and voivodship party organs were also discussed.

Jaruzelski Leaves for Prague on 1-Day Visit

LD0102082889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has set off for Prague where he is paying a friendly 1-day visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. Talks on further development of bilateral relations and the international situation are anticipated.

Urban Holds News Conference on Internal Issues

LD3101182989 Warsaw PAP in English 1603 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 31—Issues connected with the "roundtable," the death of a Bialystok priest, a two-chamber parliament and president's office, the government-OPZZ talks, pay rises for the health service, elections to the Sejm, Urban's visit to Moscow, the confederation of Independent Poland KPN were some of the most important problems touched upon by government's spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban at today's press conference.

In Advance of the Roundtable

In response to the question by a PAP newsman whether during the preparatory talks in advance of the roundtable representatives of Solidarity were granted a permission to relegalize their union, Minister Urban said that those talks saw the convergence of opinions on reaching the trade union pluralism, also on the legalization of Solidarity linked with a broader evolution of the political relations and the process of agreement, this including the speeding up of the elections. He added that talks on concrete methods of reaching the trade union pluralism would be held at the roundtable.

Asked whether the possible participation of Kuron and Michnik in the talks ceased to be the matter in dispute, Minister Urban said that the talks held in Magdalenka outside Warsaw witnessed approximating stances of the authorities and a part of the opposition so that the process of rapprochement can cover the widest possible part of the opposition.

In response to another question he stated that the roundtable is to be held in the office of the Council of Ministers palace, in the Krakowskie Przedmiescie St. here. The earlier proposal to hold the talks in Jablonna turned out not to be the best one owing to many reasons. There is room for 56 people at the table. This will not be a bilateral debate, and the political composition of the meeting will be a sign of a broad pluralism. The composition of the meeting continues to be under discussion and this is a very difficult process because of the multiplicity of the representation. Who is selecting the participants? Nobody, Urban said, citizen consensus is [as received]. This is a process of gradual selection to reach the final composition of the roundtable.

There will be nobody who can be called "chairman" as the debates will discuss issues and reach settlements on the road of a consensus. The role of the one presiding over the meeting will boil down to keeping the certain order of the day.

We would like the debate to last for the shortest possible time, Urban said. As regards the elections, the roundtable should provide foundations for them. This can be the selection and determination of what is common for the majority of poles and the reaching of an agreement in this respect.

In response to the question whether the "roundtable" could fill the vacant governmental posts, Minister Urban said that it could not for this is the matter for the future parliament.

Priest's Death in Bialystok

Replying to another question the government spokesman said there were no grounds permitting to suspect and conspiracy against priests. Investigation into the death of Father Niedzielak is continuing. No hypotheses are being ruled out in advance. Investigation revealed no effects of struggle nor marks of blows.

Investigation into the death of Father Suchowolec from Bialystok determined that a sound of TV or video had been heard coming from his flat. He is known to have walked his dog. In the morning his servant cried alarm. There was smoke in the priest's apartment, he himself lying by his bed. The windows were closed. The death was caused by asphyxiation by fire. Urban also said that no fact had been revealed of the priest receiving threats. The spokesman quoted REUTERS as saying that the names of both priests in question were allegedly on a list of 150 clergymen regarded by authorities as extremists. The spokesman dismissed those reports.

Two-Chamber Parliament and Office of President

Answering a question concerning this issue Urban said that amendments to the Constitution could be expected prior to parliamentary elections that those two points were linked with.

Government-OPZZ Talks

Asked whether discords which emerged during the government-OPZZ talks were only temporary or whether they were to get more profound Urban said that discords connected with implementation of pluralism had a temporary character. OPZZ will constitute a side in consensus. More disquieting are discords concerning the economic sphere. OPZZ resolutions have a claiming character without indicating ways and means of satisfying those claims, Urban said.

Asked whether OPZZ could turn out to be the most controversial partner Urban said that this could obviously prove true.

Asked about these problems, Jerzy Urban said that the government is not able to solve individual questions after it forwarded to the Sejm the general rules. Urban said that in 1992 pays of employees of the so called nonproduction sphere will total 106 per cent of an average wages of production workers. At present it is 80 per cent but still this year it is to go up to 90 per cent.

On Elections to Sejm

Asked about the attitude of the government to the elections to the Sejm to be held in May or June this year, Urban said that the government supports the concept of speedier elections and urges to as quickly as possible consume [as received] the "concubinage" concluded at the roundtable and to base the public life in Poland on wider pluralistic political bases. Urban was of the opinion that the agreement concerning the elections could be reached during the roundtable debate and thus the preparations to the elections could be stated before the "roundtable" ends.

Urban in Moscow

Asked which of his meetings during the recent visit to Moscow he regarded as most important, Jerzy Urban said: "This should have been a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists but it lacked inquisitive questions which would penetrate Polish problems. A conversation in the editorial office of the PRAVDA daily was far more interesting. The recording of this conversation is to be published. The talks in the Soviet Foreign Ministry were also interesting. It is necessary to change a lot in the mutual information practice between socialist countries, including Poland and the USSR. One should not get offended by critical materials, while polemics should be used in the press not behind the closed doors.

Confederation of Independent Poland

There is no legal chaos in Poland—Urban said in reply to a question concerning arbitary treatment of various groupings. Representatives of "Solidarity" will seat at the "roundtable" and they will discuss determinants of legalization. Personalities representing various political directions have been invited to take part in the talks. But KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland) is an illegal organization, questioning the constitutional order in Poland. If the KPN changes its attitude to the legal order in this country, then, according to the principle "no matter where one comes from" it could benefit from conditions to be created by the new law on associations, Urban said.

Other matters

One of the questions concerned fears of acts of violence possibly occurring in Poland. Urban said that such cases where extremely rare in this country. There is no indication whatsoever that such acts (political provocations) will take place, although, as he put it, the climate on the radical right may be conducive to such acts. At this point Urban quoted the text of a leaflet issued by a group calling itself "reduta" (Redoubt).

The Pomeranian Bay: the issue is the topic of ongoing talks marked by undoubted progress. Chances are that the problem will be settled, Urban said.

Work stoppages: They do occur, sometimes even in the form of wildcat, short strikes connected with pay demands. The government is gravely concerned with this wave of claims which in numerous work establishments is supposed to cover up mismanagement, inappropriate distribution of bonuses, etc. This poses a threat to economic reforms process. The atmosphere of claims may lead to increased inflation.

Priest's Death Reportedly Followed Harassment

AU3101192589 Paris AFP in English
1906 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 31 (AFP)—Polish priest Stanislaw Suchowolec, found dead at his home at Bialystok, northeastern Poland, on Monday has been repeatedly attacked and harassed over the past four years, a ranking member of the banned Solidarity trade union said here Tuesday.

Father Suchowolec died nine days after the mystery murder here of another priest, 74-year-old Father Stefan Niedzielak, who was also close to the banned trade union.

Father Suchowolec, 31, died of asphyxiation caused by the inhalation of carbon monoxide gas, Bialystok prosecutor Danuta Sikorska said Tuesday.

A post-mortem revealed "a high degree of carbon monoxide in the body of the young priest," she said, adding that no bruises were found.

Zbigniew Romaszewski, head of Solidarity's legal watchdog committee, said the priest who was well-known locally for his support for Solidarity was first beaten up by unknown men in a village near Bialystok in 1985.

Shortly after the incident screws on the wheels of his cars were loosened and a friend was seriously injured in an accident when he used the car. The priest was on a holiday at the time, according to Mr. Romaszewski.

In another incident on August 4 last year, the priest narrowly escaped a head-on collision with a truck after his windshield exploded after being hit by stones, the Solidarity official added.

Two days later his parents' apartment at Bialystok was gutted by fire.

Meanwhile, government spokesman Jerzy Urban said both deaths were "tragic" and "unfortunate", but added that there was "no reason to believe that there is a conspiracy against Polish priests."

"There is no evidence that the two tragedies were based on political provocation," Mr. Urban told a press conference.

3 Soviet Army Regiments To Leave 'This Year'

LD3101184489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] The POLISH PRESS AGENCY, PAP, has reported that three Soviet Army regiments will leave Poland this year. They will be a tank training regiment, an anti-aircraft missile regiment, and an independent helicopter regiment.

Next year, a Soviet independent landing and assault brigade will be withdrawn from Polish territory.

Jaruzelski Addresses Report-Back Conference

AU2701104089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP report: "A Time of Discussion and Change"]

[Text] Addressing the report-back conference of the PZPR factory committee of the Marcin Kasprzak radio plant in Warsaw on 13 January, PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said: Participation in your meeting is a very valuable experience for me, because it concerns the working affairs of a party committee, and the problems of a plant that occupies an important place in the life of the capital and economic life of the country. Today's meeting is also important because it is taking place on the eve of the second part of the 10th plenum.

This second part will reach important decisions for the party and fatherland. The draft plenum resolution, which takes into account the Politburo theses and the outcome of discussions held between the two parts of the plenum, has already been distributed to Central Committee members. This is something new. We hope the value of the document will increase as a result, W. Jaruzelski said.

Referring to a statement made during the report-back meeting whereby the practical implementation of democratic centralism is taking the joy out of work, W. Jaruzelski admitted that there is a certain amount of truth in this. However, he said, one cannot fail to notice that in party work today, there is a growing aim to put the democratic factor in first place.

The first secretary also discussed socialist pluralism. It exists in our country. However, it was never fully implemented in the past. Today, we want authentic pluralism. We want it to enable various forces that respect constitutional and political principles to undertake energetic action. This pluralism should reflect the differences and opinions that currently exist. W. Jaruzelski referred to the recent meeting of young people at the Central Committee, which gave birth to a multitude of opinions and caused a great amount of interest. This was the meeting's great value, he said. Although some of the opinions given by its participants were simplified, they served as a signal and encouragement for the party to work with young people. The party must not be afraid of a clash of opinions. We must struggle for people, especially young people. The doors to all party committees must be opened wide. Life in these committees must be vibrant, so that new values may emerge therein.

Jaruzelski Speaks to Higher Schools Councils

LD2601013489 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 25—Heads of 76 social councils that supervise 88 higher schools met here Wednesday with members of the commission for scientific cadres of the Council of State to discuss the current and future functioning of higher schools, development of research work and scientific cadres. The meeting was attended by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The first term of office of the councils showed their positive influence on the mutually profitable uniting of higher schools and macro-regions and on the activity of universities.

Vice-President of the Council of state Tadeusz Szelachowski, who chaired the debate, gave many examples of concrete acievements by the councils in many regions of Poland, this including the development of cooperation between higher schools and industry. Among the questions to be settled by the councils in the current term of office there are the achieving of full normalizaton of socio- political situation at higher schools and the councils' participation in modernizing the educational system of Polish higher schools.

National Education Minister Professor Jacek Fisiak, just like Culture Minister Professor Aleksander Krawczuk, positively assessed the cooperation with the councils. He said that strategic goals of his ministry's current policy are democratization, modernization and decentralization, and added that work has been started on a new law on higher schooling to be completed within two-three years. Among the current problems he mentioned the further breaking of bureaucratic barriers in the development of scientific careers, strengthening of higher schools' research functions and development of cooperation between Polish and foreign universities.

Head of the People's Council of Lodz Professor Andrzej Feliks Grabski pointed out that among the youth operating under the banner of the Independent Student Union NZS there are a few noisy activists inspired by the Warsaw center and many pragmatists who try to do positive things. The latter do not utter anti-party and anti-socialist slogans and one should consider the possibility of their legal activity in the student milieu.

Addressing the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed the conviction that the progressing autonomy of higher schools should help strengthen the role of the social councils as institutions supporting higher schools in their better performing the didactic, educational and scientific tasks. Referring to attitudes of students, Jaruzelski stressed the need to conduct dialogue with them, use realistic arguments and point out concrete examples of individual successes that stem from knowledge, ambition and honest work.

He also expressed the conviction that the social councils, together with people's councils, can and should help best use graduates of higher schools taking into account the aspirations of the youth and the needs of the economy. At the time of great changes that are taking place in Poland following the 10th plenum, the social councils should act so as to support the line of reforms and counteract everything that can undermine it, he said.

Rakowski Interviewed Upon Return From Bonn

AU2601183889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 89 p 7

[PAP report: "Interview at Warsaw Airport"]

[Text] On the evening of 23 January, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski returned to Warsaw from Bonn. He was greeted at Warsaw airport by Jozef Czyrek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Kazimierz Olesiak, Ernest Kucza, Tadeusz Olechowski, and Michal Janiszewski. Franz Joachim Schoeller, the FRG ambassador, was also present.

The journalists present at the airport asked Premier Rakowski the following question: "Are we witnessing a turning-point in relations between Poland and the FRG?"

The premier replied: "It is hard to say whether this is already a turning-point. There is certainly a desire on both sides to reach a turning-point. This will occur when agreements that interest both sides are signed. However, there is no doubt that although the visit was a private one, it has already resulted in a significant increase in activity with respect to political relations and, as a consequence, it has paved the way to increased activity in the economic field. I am thinking primarily of credit problems; our debts in the FRG are quite high. I would not like to use too high-sounding words, but I think that one could agree with the view that a certain turning-point has been reached."

The premier said that what we now have ahead of us are talks that will be conducted by plenipotentiary representatives of both sides, intensive talks, but—as we should expect—talks in which there should be no serious sources of friction. He is also hoping for agreements on further economic cooperation, especially agreements concerning financial and credit policy.

The next question was: "The press has been writing about 'birthday diplomacy.' Will it produce the same effects as the 'pingpong diplomacy' that America once pursued?"

[Rakowski] "It is hard to say, but this term really has come into use in the FRG. There were many heads of government and distinguished politicians there. I was not the only one to have meetings with the premiers of Sweden and Norway and with the president of France; they also had meetings with each other. So, essentially, a birthday dinner served as an opportunity to hold political meetings at the level of heads of governments and states."

Baka Addresses Economic Policy Commission

AU2101202289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jan 89 p 1

[Report on speech by Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary at the 9 January meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Policy Commission]

[Text] Opening the Commission meeting, Wladyslaw Baka recalled that as a result of the criticism voiced during the previous Commission meeting, the government had made many significant alterations to the National Economic Consolidation Plan, which has been placed before the Sejm. At this very moment, Sejm commissions are working on draft financial plans and final versions of many laws that will largely determine the paths of state economic policy in 1989. This is the right time to present the Commission's stance toward these documents, he said.

He stressed that the priorities in party strategy, in other words improving the market, achieving equilibrium, and halting inflation, ought to serve as the main point of departure when deciding on the paths of economic policy. The National Economic Consolidation Plan for the years 1989-90 is to serve these purposes. Therefore, the key question is: To what extent will the government proposals help achieve these objectives? Will they bring an end to the spiralling prices? How does the proposed incomes policy safeguard the economy against a repetition of the situation last year, when a self-generating process of wage claims, ruining the market, came into being? Will it be possible to keep 1989 wage increases within the proposed limits? How can one reconcile the aim to halt inflation with a growing budget deficit? Is it possible to reduce this deficit by reducing planned expenditures and by increasing budgetary income? To what extent does the planned activity encourage a stronger zloty and healthy principles of financial policy?

The government's radicalism and energy are kindling new hopes that must be fulfilled in economic practice. Therefore, said W. Baka, it is necessary to support this government line, which is the party programmatic line at the same time. However, automatic and declarative support is not the point. The best way we can help the government is by proposing ways of implementing its resolutions and forecasting their effects on society, especially their economic effects. We should also perceive dangers and overcome them. This applies especially to the expected explosion of new forms of enterprise, which involve inevitable differences in wages and an increase in speculation. The year 1989 is meant to bring equality for all sectors of the economy. However, this equality will come at a time when the economy is in a profound state of disequilibrium. This contains implications. Therefore, the point is to give better support to the government's dynamic activity, identify possible dangers, and overcome them.

Education Minister on 'Educated Poles' Concept

AU2001162789 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 6-8 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Jacek Fisiak, minister of national education, by Grazyna Minkowska and Boguslaw Gajownik: "Education, Elite, Experiment"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The concept of an educated Pole that was prevalent in the 1970's no longer suits the challenge posed by the development of civilization. Are we going to adhere to this concept, or will we change it?

[Fisiak] I think it is high time to change it. The world of the 1970's had different problems to the ones that absorb us today. The survival of the planet and the prevention of annihilation have become the key issues. This must be expressed in national education at all levels. The subject involves more than just theoretical discussions by scholars. On the other hand, one must know how to use the latest achievements of science and technology. The use of computers as early as elementary school should be as normal as the teaching of foreign languages or an awareness of the need to protect the natural environment. It is also high time to dispense with the 19th century divisions into subjects. Today, at a time when the border between physics and chemistry has eroded away, one cannot teach in a way that ignores this fact. Therefore, education has to resolve the following dilemma: How to shape a man who knows how to make efficient use of technology, but who also grasps the complexity of today's problems. I know that whenever there is talk of thorough changes, the subject of money immediately crops up. Now, for example, we are striving for a major computerization program, and I am confident that it will become reality next year. As far as foreign languages are concerned, we have already taken certain steps. We have extended the compulsory teaching of a foreign language in elementary schools by 1 year. However, I realize that in order to achieve a thorough change, there must be foreign trips by young people to the countries where the relevant language is spoken. My visits to Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and my talks in the GDR and contacts in the United States serve this very purpose. For example, the Americans have invited a group of young pupils for a 6-week stay in South Carolina, at a school where young people from all over the world visit. I know that is not much, but one has to start somewhere. I believe in the strength of such incentives. [passage omitted]

[Question] Why has the idea of creating private elementary schools been turned down?

[Fisiak] The state should discharge the duty to guarantee elementary education to everyone. I know of no country which does not educate its citizens in accordance with the interests of citizens. Of course, I do not mean the state should rudely interfere in education, but it should form attitudes that are desirable. That is why, basically, I say no to private elementary schools. As far as other types of private schools are concerned, if it were up to me, then I would willingly sign my name beneath this idea. By the way, the running of schools is governed by rules dating from 1965. [passage omitted]

Weekly To Serialize Solzhenitsyn's Book

LD2401233289 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Krakow, Jan 24—The next issue of the ZYCIE LITERACKIE Krakow weekly, due out on January 26, will carry the first installment of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's book "The First Circle".

The novel will be published unabridged and will provide Polish readers with an opportunity to get acquainted with Solzhenitsyn's work.

TRUD Article Considers Benefits of Pluralism

AU3001152189 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Jan 89 pp 1, 6

[Article by Franciszek Ciemny, editor in chief of the Polish Trade Union daily ZWIAZKOWIEC: "The Anticipated 'Bridge' Has Been Crossed" —special for TRUD]

[Text] Is trade union pluralism in Poland the best medicine for all those economic and social shortcomings, that have tormented our country for many years? Opinions on this subject are divided.

The opinion expressed by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on questions of political and trade union pluralism was a great surprise. It is true that the recent process of normalization, the social dialogue, and the search for agreement does not guarantee that a joint solution may be found for the consolidation of Poland as a democratic, constitutional, socialist state. People, namely the common people, as a matter of fact, are looking at Poland's weaknesses from the point of view of more pleasant categories, such as: wages earned, current prices, household budgets, and the tremendous problems connected with basic food and consumer goods supplies. Even in this respect, optimism is gradually vanishing. A mood of depression, apathy, and even the dangerous gloom of dissatisfaction are growing among the workers collectives. Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ, stated at the 10th plenum: "The truth is that 8 years after August 1980, the workers are rousing again and expressing their dissatisfaction. This also happens because we failed to implement our programs and decisions, because we failed to fulfill our obligations."

The decision on political consent regarding trade union pluralism mostly amazed the legal class trade unions. Because, as thousands of members say, as early as at previous plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee and at the Third OPZZ Conference, held 1 and ½ months ago the necessity of improving the model of the trade union movement was actually discussed, but it was clearly stated that the principle should be the existence of one trade union in an enterprise. All this was said on behalf of the labor collectives, and suddenly another decision was adopted....

The trade unions, a movement involving 7 million people, were not even asked about their opinion. What exactly was the "prevailing" reason inducing the party to adopt such a step? The truth is that 7 years of efforts to solve the economic crisis produced rather modest results. Let us not pretend, and clearly state that neither the party, nor the trade unions are highly appreciated by the working people. The recent alliance of forces between party, trade unions and the patriotic movement for national rebirth does not appear to be very strong. Hence, this alliance of forces should expand and should be extended to consent and dialogue with the opposition and the church, as well as with independent intellectual circles. This should certainly not be done for the sake of eternal love, but above all for the sake of the Polish people's everyday necessities. Polish people, as a whole, are longing for social peace, as well as for shops full of goods. None of these things could be implemented without restructuring the authorities' system of behavior, as it was stated at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. This decision was inspired, especially for the party, by the awareness that it is linked to the easy system of management, to infallibility, and to the method of command and administration, without public control.

However, let us return to the class trade unions. Over the last 7 years they underwent a severe test. From boycotts and difficult political choices for numerous people, they emerged as a militant force. Today we can hear the statement that these trade unions were betrayed.

The trade union masses within the collectives and enterprises are not prepared for the decision of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum. New reactions are predictible, such as: alienation, protests, people handing back their trade union and party membership cards, and even deals with Solidarity. Radicalization of the actions of trade union structures will be the result of all this, and we already have examples confirming this statement. Wages, working conditions, and working time—these are subjects on which demands and efforts to fulfill them may assume sharp forms. Alfred Miodowicz said at a press conference on 20 January: "I think that we are now facing serious events in the enterprises. As much as the decision of the PZPR Central Committee was intended as an effort to achieve a peaceful atmosphere, I think that this decision may produce the opposite effect."

As a matter of fact, the leader of the Polish class trade unions expressed the wish to resign from the Politburo at the session of the aforementioned PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Voting against the decision on pluralism, Alfred Miodwicz explained his action as follows: "Through this vote of mine the trade unions declare that serious decisions should be adopted with the consent of the trade union masses and that they should be prepared for this."

The trade unions were the ones to build the "bridge" of dialogue with the opposition. They proposed to begin with experiments. They said: "There are 300 founding groups of Solidarity. Let us take the example of 30 enterprises and let 2 trade unions exist there, but establish one common representative body for a given enterprise. Let us conduct this experiment over a year, and if it should prove successful, then let us proceed at full speed."

The stand of the PZPR Central Committee is that the path toward the introduction of pluralism should pass through "roundtable discussions." This is where, the conditions, the method, and schedule of establishing new trade unions should be developed. All this lies in the future, but life is going on. As if nothing had happened, as if everything had smoothly proceeded according to law and order, the entire Polish press—from party to government organs—on 23 January officially published on its front pages the announcement of the Solidarity National Executive Commission, for everybody to see. No one even tried to write about the "former," or the "illegal" Solidarity, and things started moving, while the statement of the PZPR Central Committee unmistakably reads: "The creation of factors acting in contradiction to the Law on Trade Unions may provoke an interruption of the process of trade union pluralism." What about this? Well, life has always been ahead of written texts.

Professor Interviewed on Political Changes

PM2401110089 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 10 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Prof Leszek Kolakowski, formerly of Warsaw University, Professor of Philosophy and Senior Research Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, by INTERPRESS correspondent Andrzej Goszczynski; date, place not given; editorial note states that the interview was given for the INTERPRESS weekly THE WARSAW VOICE]

[Text] [Goszczynski] To begin with, let me ask you this: What were your feelings on coming to Poland?

[Kolakowski] Naturally, I was curious. I knew a lot about Poland because I had tried to follow events here and I had also done a lot of reading. But knowledge gleaned from printed matter or hearsay is different from that gained at first hand. My curiosity was accompanied on the one hand by excitement and on the other by anxiety as to whether I would be able to communicate with people here after so long an absence. I was worried not about old friends but about the young people who grew up in this country during those two decades. I was not sure whether I would succeed, but so far there have been no problems.

[Goszczynski] What was it like during your first days in Warsaw? What was familiar to you, and what was new?

[Kolakowski] I was tremendously impressed with the greatly increased freedom of speech. People speak freely about anything and everything, not just in private but also in public. The press is incomparably more open than it used to be, although, of course, it is still subject to censorship and certain taboos are still in force. These are the things which I find heartening.

On the other hand, many friends confessed to me that they felt that Poland is languishing in a state of civilizational regression and decline and that an uncertain future lies ahead. My own observations have been limited but, though incidental and superficial, they appear to confirm these fears. For example, I visited two or three new housing estates and I came away with impressions of a deplorable state of affairs. Decay and dilapidation are setting in almost as soon as the buildings are completed, and there is something wrong with almost everything: leaks here, spots of rust there....In short, the overall impression is one of all-encompassing slovenliness. In this respect Poland is becoming a Third World country, which is very distressing.

Many years ago neither I nor, I think, anybody around me would have expected such a turn of events. We knew, of course, that we were not a rich country. All the same, we were still hoping for a better future, in spite of a despotic political system. At the moment the prevailing sentiment is that of a sense of economic and ecological disaster with no prospect of a reasonable way out.

Any real improvement will be conditional upon a strongly motivated mobilization of the public spirit of the kind sometimes encountered in times of war, when people say to each other: We have our backs to the wall and we must all join forces to extricate ourselves from this situation somehow. But this sort of thing can only happen when the people trust the government implicitly. (...)

After years of lies, abuse of power, broken promises, and dashed expectations, there is absolutely no hope now of a repetition of the events of 1956, a sudden emergence of a new Gomulka capable of galvanizing people's energies and opening new vistas before them. That is why, despite all the changes that I regard as beneficial and important, my overall impression is not optimistic.

[Goszczynski] How, then, do you rate the prospects that Poland now faces? Do the changes now underway not herald a hope of a better future?

[Kolakowski] I would not presume to evaluate the prospects of the economic reforms. But I did discuss this question with many people much more knowledgeable on the subject than I am and they did not pin much hope on these changes. They frequently voiced their concern that we might follow the way of Yugoslavia and end up saddled with all the fiascoes of socialism and all the ills of capitalism into the bargain.

[Goszczynski] In 1956 it was considered bon ton to be familiar with your article "What Is Socialism?" which concluded that it was doubtless a very fine thing. How would you describe the same socialism now?

[Kolakowski] My article was a column piece in which I listed all the things which went under the name of socialism while running contrary to the very idea of that socialism. But all this is no longer relevant. (...) I do not believe that an effective socialist economy is possible. All manner of reforms have been tried already, and it is worth noting that throughout the socialist countries all the reforms which have ever proved in any way effective invariably point in the same direction: the reconstruction of the market, that is, capitalism.

[Goszczynski] In your journalistic writings you discussed a question which at present constitutes one of the major topics of the political debate in Poland: the question of pluralism. In your opinion, what are the roads that could lead from the Poland of today to a Poland which would embrace pluralism and a diversity of outlooks?

[Kolakowski] A diversity of outlooks is a fact of life! When we say that there is no pluralism we mean that it has not been given an institutional form. You are asking whether a transition is possible... I do not know! After all, we have no idea just how far this system could be altered through the application of public pressure. We cannot predict the limits of the system's flexibility. We know that it is susceptible to change, but its momentum will always tend to veer toward re-Stalinization. With one exception to date, socialist systems have never been able to cope with institutional pluralism. The exception, of course, was the recognition of Solidarity in 1980. We all know how that ended.

[Goszczynski] Let us now look beyond purely Polish matters. These days the word "crisis" crops up with increasing frequency with reference to a great many civilizational phenomena. How accurate is it as a reflection of the modern man's predicament, his preoccupations, and anxieties?

[Kolakowski] When we speak of a crisis in the context of civilization, referring to the crisis of modern communities, we mean, first and foremost, the absence of fixed rules which people could recognize as important, binding, and useful in the organization of their lives. We are witnessing a demise of traditional values, which are not being replaced by new values. Changes in population patterns and increasing urbanization have disrupted traditional communities and consequently destroyed people's sense of belonging and their collective identity. Of course this has provoked a counterreaction which expresses itself mainly through the spread of nationalism and the rise of collective identification of the nationalist type. This form of identification invariably entails certain dangers and sometimes assumes barbaric modes of expression. All this may sound banal but that does not make it any less true.

[Goszczynski] Do you subscribe to the world view whereby we are today, at the end of the century, virtually on the edge of the precipice, doomed to face the inevitable catastrophe?

[Kolakowski] I feel—without being able to prove it or even to provide a reasonable justification for my belief—that we are now witnessing certain civilizational changes about whose substance we are very much in the dark. The political structures which we inherited from the 19th century and the period of World War I are by now obsolete insofar as the criteria applicable at that time are no longer functional. I suspect that the coming decades will bring substantial changes in the existing political divisions. What will emerge from these changes? I do not know.

Nor can I predict the future of religious institutions and movements. Urbanization and the generally rising levels of education have deeply eroded the substance of traditional creeds and churches. Nevertheless, reverse processes are now becoming apparent and the political power of religion and of churches is certainly on the increase. Perhaps this is because the inherited political ideologies are felt to be largely inoperative. On the other hand, people need the kind of certainty which is to be found in religion. This growing interest in religion and a desire for religious identification are especially apparent among the younger generation.

New Customs Regulations for Foreigners Reported

AU3001181589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jan 89 p 5

[Report signed 'mk': "Polish Customs Regulations for Foreigners"]

[Text] A lot is being said and written about the customs regulations in force among our neighbors. New Polish customs regulations have been in force since 1 January. Recently, we published the rules applicable to Polish tourists leaving and returning to Poland. However, we do not know very much about the regulations applicable to foreign visitors.

Zygmunt Janczyk, press spokesman of the Main Customs Office, tells us that foreigners visiting Poland may bring in articles for their own personal use duty free. In addition, the following articles may be brought in duty free, on the condition that they are declared and taken out again: a pair of binoculars, two cameras, a movie camera, a portable musical instrument, a record player, a radio, a radio-cassette recorder, a television set, leather clothing, and a fur coat.

Foreigners may bring in up to Z60,000 worth of gifts duty free. The value of any single item may not exceed Z15,000. This does not apply to liquor.

Also exempt from import duty are food commodities, textiles, shoes, cosmetics, and precious metals. Duty will be charged on radios, television sets, and television and video cameras, unless they are declared upon entry and taken out again, and also on tobacco and liquor.

Foreigners may take out of Poland the personal articles they brought with them, plus items acquired in Poland up to the value of Z20,000. No single item may exceed the value of Z10,000. Free of export duty are items bought in "Pewex" and "Baltona" hard currency shops, provided that the shop receipt is produced. Also free of export duty are: glass tableware, Christmas tree decorations, Polish folk costumes, and books and other publications issued after 1945.

Export duty must be paid on the following items: precious stones and metals (200 percent of the purchase price); cosmetics, perfumes, drugs, detergents, and photographic chemicals (200 percent of the purchase price); porcelain (200 percent); carpets, rugs, tapestries, and bedspreads (200 percent); leather goods (200 percent); furs (200 percent); food (300 percent); and clothes and shoes (300 percent).

We are recalling these regulations in order to help foreigners visiting Poland avoid unnecessary and unpleasant situations at our borders.

1989 Central Annual Plan Published

AU1601060189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economic Reform Supplement) in Polish 5 Jan 89

["The Central Annual Plan for 1989—Resolution of the Council of Ministers Number 202/88 of 7 December 1988"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 27, Paragraph 2, Point 1 of the Socioeconomic Planning Act of 26 February 1982, the Council of Ministers, intent on safeguarding the implementation of the PPR Sejm resolution of 18

December 1986 on the subject of the 1986-90 Socioeconomic Plan, and taking into account the outcome of social consultations on the subject of this plan, hereby resolves as follows:

Chapter 1. General Regulations [chapterhead]

Paragraph 1.

1. The 1989 Central Annual Plan, henceforth referred to as the "plan," is hereby adopted.

2. The resolution includes the following appendices:
   1) Detailed decisions—appendix 1;
   2) The state financial plan—appendix 2.

3. Questions connected with government orders in 1989 are covered by Council of Ministers Resolution Number 129/88 of 18 July 1988 on government orders for materials, products, and construction services.

Paragraph 2.

1. The plan establishes basic economic proportions and quantities in financial or material terms, together with the basic state socioeconomic policy undertakings necessary in order to achieve the objectives laid down in the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan adopted by the Council of Ministers.

2. Unless the resolution states otherwise, the quantities expressed in appendix 1 are binding.

3. The basic resources for implementing socioeconomic policy, principles governing the functioning of economic mechanisms, and size of parameters are defined by the PPR Sejm resolution on the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan and by separate rules.

Paragraph 3.

Unless the resolution states otherwise, then:
1) The quantities contained in the plan are in terms of fixed prices in 1984;
2) The size of changes is in relation to expected plan fulfillment in 1988.

Chapter 2. The Objectives of the Plan [chapterhead]

Paragraph 4.

1. Economic policy in 1989 will be subordinated to the following basic socioeconomic objectives:
   1) The development of agriculture and the food industry;
   2) The development of housing construction;
   3) Environmental protection;
   4) Scientific progress; accelerating the modernization of the economy; and greater economizing on fuels, raw materials, and energy;
   5) The expansion of profitable exports.

2. Ministers and voivodas will undertake activity that lies within their scope in order to achieve the figures contained in chapter 4, these figures governing the attainment of the above objectives

Paragraph 5.

In the aim to achieve the objectives listed in paragraph 4, and guided by the principle of expanding market relations and restricting direct interference in the work of enterprises, the appropriate state administrative bodies will:
1) Remove the barriers that hamper the development of enterprise and an increase in production, chiefly by removing features that diminish incentive, accelerating the process of demonopolizing the economy, and abolishing superfluous regulations;
2) Consolidating the self-financing of economic units by restricting individual financial concessions and privileges, and making the process of establishing prices and wages more liberal;
3) Eliminating inefficient producers, products, and technologies; and extending the ban on production that is excessively material, energy, and work-intensive, and which constitutes a danger to health and the environment;
4) Expanding the supply, foreign currency, capital, and labor markets;
5) Stabilizing basic rules governing the functioning of economic units.

Paragraph 6.

The following indicators for improving the standard of living are adopted for 1989:
1) A rise in consumption by at least 4.1 to 4.3 percent, including a 4.3 to 4.5 percent increase in consumption out of personal income;
2) An approximately 6 percent increase in the supply of goods for the market, a minimum 6.3 percent increase in services for the population, and guarantees of a continuity of market supplies of basic food and industrial commodities;
3) The completion of 203,000 to 208,000 apartments and the modernization of at least 263,000;
4) The provision of 3,000 new hospital beds, 1,000 places in social care homes, 40 day clinics, and 50 health centers;
5) The provision of 26,600 places in kindergartens and 1,800 places in day nurseries;
6) The provision of 3,100 classrooms in schools;
7) The provision of 170,000 telephones;
8) The provision of 230,000 sewage treatment facilities, with a capacity to treat 750,000 cubic meters of sewage in 24 hours; plus facilities to retain, at air treatment plants, 500,000 tons of atmospheric pollutants and 11,000 tons of toxic gases per year;

9) The completion of reservoirs with a capacity to supply about 1,043,000 cubic meters of water in 24 hours, an extension of the water supply network by over 3,600 km, and the provision of water to about 65,000 private farms.

Paragraph 7.

The following primary tasks are hereby adopted, the performance of which will guarantee an improvement in economic equilibrium:
1) The budget deficit should not exceed Z1058.4 billion;
2) Budget resources for the financing of investments should increase by at least 26.6 percent (in terms of current prices);
3) The rate of increase of nominal wages should equal the rate of increase of living costs, and the amount of financial assets held by the population at the end of 1989 should not exceed Z10.2 trillion;
4) The foreign trade balance (in current prices) should be:
   a) R0.6 billion with the first area of payments,
   b) $1.2 billion with the second area of payments.

Chapter 3. The Decisions of the Plan [chapterhead]

Material-Technical Supplies [subtitle]

Paragraph 8.

The plan lays down the following:
1) Balance-sheets of basic fuels and materials, contained in table 1 of appendix 1 of this resolution;
2) A classification of basic fuels and materials into selected production goals, contained in table 2 of appendix 1;
3) A classification of basic fuels and materials according to commodities that are of fundamental importance to the national economy, laid down in table 3 of appendix 1;
4) Reserves of basic materials, means of transport, and construction machines, contained in table 4 of appendix 1;
5) A list of deliberate stocks of basic materials, contained in table 5 of appendix 1.

Investments [subtitle]

Paragraph 9.

1. It is decided that Z676 billion (in 1989 prices) will be available for central investments, which are listed, together with their dates of completion, in table 6 of appendix 1.

2. Investments in energy production facilities, financed in accordance with Council of Ministers Resolution Number 229/85 of 13 December 1985 on investment projects in energy production facilities, are hereby permitted. They are listed in table 7 of appendix 1.

Paragraph 10.

Investment spending out of ministerial budgets is set at Z257 billion (in 1989 prices). A detailed break-down of this spending is presented in table 12 of appendix 1.

Paragraph 11.

1. A list of investments covered by government orders is hereby established. It is contained in table 12 of appendix 1;

2. Bonuses for workers for the performance of tasks covered by government orders, and financial reserves in the hands of the chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, are established for 1989 and contained in table 11 of appendix 1.

3. As with investment projects that are carried out by domestic contractors as part of government orders, preferential status will also be accorded to tasks stemming from the cooperation agreement between the PPR Government and the USSR Government during the years 1986-90 on the development of the Yamburg gas deposits, the construction of a gas pipeline linking Yamburg and the Western border of the USSR, and other industrial facilities on USSR territory, as well as the supply of natural gas to Poland from the USSR connected with this.

Paragraph 12.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission is authorized to grant, if necessary, wages, allocated as bonuses for those carrying out tasks connected with factors of production as part of investment projects and work that is not covered by government orders—amounting to a total of Z2.8 billion. The amounts in question will be granted in accordance with the principles that apply to the implementation of investment projects covered by government orders.

Paragraph 13.

The commencement in 1989 of an investment task with a projected value (in 1989 prices) that exceeds Z2 billion and is partially financed with subsidies from the budget or such tasks that are commenced by enterprises that receive budget subsidies for development will require the approval of the finance minister

Foreign Trade [subtitle]

Paragraph 14.

1. Foreign currency resources will be allocated as follows:
1) decentralized forms of strengthening economic units—$4,700 million, which includes $2,300 million for competitive sales of foreign currency and loans;

2) centrally financed imports of raw materials—$1,340 million;
3) government orders for raw materials, products, and services for repair and building work in line with Council of Ministers resolution number 129/88 of 18 July 1988—$713.5 million;
4) health care—$458.4 million, of which
   a) government orders—$430 million,
   b) combatting AIDS and program of preventative measures—$28.4 million;
5) the sociocultural sphere—$69.3 million;
6) the development of communications—$35.3 million;
7) science and technology—$70 million;
8) national defense—$15 million;
9) internal security—$8.3 million.

2. A break-down of the use of foreign currency for imports is provided in table 9 of appendix 1 of the resolution; the minister of foreign economic cooperation is authorized to make changes in the allocation of resources for imports with respect to forms of payment (cash, clearing agreements).

3. The minister of foreign economic cooperation is authorized to—in agreement with the ministers of industry and internal trade—take account of the extent to which the needs of domestic receivers are being satisfied in granting permits for exports and imports.

4. The minister of foreign economic cooperation is authorized to make decisions on an on-going basis—in agreement with the minister of internal trade—concerning expenditure on the centrally financed imports discussed in point 1, item 2.

5. There are no limits to imports of goods when such imports are self-financing in terms of foreign currency, which applies to imports for domestic export purposes, imports for export-oriented investment, and imports made under agreements with the PRC and SFRY on conditions that they are balanced.

6. The minister of foreign economic cooperation is authorized to establish provisional contracts for the procurement of pesticides in 1989 to the value of $40 million.

Paragraph 15.

The minister of foreign economic cooperation will undertake activity aimed at increasing imports of market commodities from the first area of payments above the level contained in the plan.

The Development of Science and Technology [subtitle]

Paragraph 16.

1. A list of tasks concerning the development of science and technology is hereby established. These tasks may be covered by government orders and are contained in table 13 of appendix 1.

2. The outlay on implementing the government orders discussed in point 1 are estimates and their final shape will be determined in general contracts.

Wages [subtitle]

Paragraph 17.

1. The following principles of establishing resources for wages in the material production sphere will be in effect in 1989:
   1) The rules on taxation of supernumerary wages will be abolished on 1 January;
   2) Any increase in wages in 1989 which exceeds a certain indicator in relation to 1988 will be regarded as an unjustified cost;
   3) Prizes and bonuses will depend on the size of profits. Any excess of prizes and bonuses above the percentage figure occupied by wages in relation to total costs will be paid into the state budget.

2. By 15 December 1988, the minister of finance will work out draft legislation necessary to implement the rules of point 1.

Paragraph 18.

1. For units in the budgetary sphere, the following is resolved:
   1) Wages will be based on payments in 1988, a growth in employment, and the results of decisions made in 1988 and affecting the level of wages in 1989. They are contained in table 10 of appendix 1.
   2) The Council of Ministers will have at its disposal a wage reserve of Z730 billion, to be used to augment the wages of employees in the budgetary sphere.

2. It is considered justified to exceed the wages listed in paragraph 1 in the following cases:
   1) If financed by the general population and foundations;
   2) If paid out of specific funds, and the level of payments laid down in the rules of these funds is not exceeded;
   3) If paid for supernumerary services;
   4) If paid out the profits of school workshops;
   5) If paid for expert opinions provided by legal bodies, or for research into drugs and cosmetics, or for blood management in health premises;
   6) If paid to employees in state offices for the performance of tasks normally performed by economic units elsewhere;
   7) If paid out of the provisional franchise funds.

3. Should prize funds in work places in the budgetary sphere not be used, the money in these funds may be used for other payments, with the exception of personal wages. Such use may not cause financial consequences for the following year.

Social Benefits [subtitle]

Paragraph 19.

In order to adapt the system of social benefits to actual conditions caused by the economic reform:
1) Old-age and disability pensions will be adjusted;
2) The social security system of private farmers will be changed, whereby the size of farms subject to compulsory social insurance will be increased, double insurance will be eliminated, and the conditions for obtaining benefits will be liberalized.
3) There will be changes to the system of family benefits, whereby the size of benefits will no longer depend on income, and there will be extra aid for family members looking after spastic children.

Prices [subtitle]

Paragraph 20.

1. Price increases in the national economy after 1 January 1989 will be as follows:
   1) Wholesale prices—12 percent;
   2) Investment prices—12 percent;
   3) Retail prices—19.2 percent;
   4) Agricultural produce procurement prices—10 percent.

2. The following features contribute to the above price increases:
   1) An increase in the following wholesale prices:
      a) fuels and energy—15.5 percent;
      b) raw and other materials—10 percent;
      c) products of the processing industry—11 percent;
      d) transportation charges—25 percent;
   2) An increase in the following retail prices:
      a) Food—15 percent;
      b) Liquor—18 percent;
      c) Non-food—20.3 percent; including:
         Coal and coke—15 percent;
         Tobacco goods—18 percent;
      d) Services—26.2 percent; including:
         Rents—66.7 percent;
         Electricity—25 percent;
         Passenger fares—70 percent.

3. It is estimated that average price increases (taking into account the effects of 1988 increases) will be as follows:
   1) Wholesale prices—40 percent;
   2) Investment prices—42.2 percent;
   3) Retail prices—49-55 percent;
   4) Agricultural produce procurement prices—36.4 percent.

4. The increase in retail prices, calculated without taking into account the increased prices of liquor and tobacco goods, is estimated at 42-47 percent, including a 16.6 parent price increase after 1 January.

Regionally Planned Spheres [subtitle]

Paragraph 21.

1. Tasks subject to regional planning and connected with housing construction, refurbishing, the communal economy, land improvement, water management, environmental protection, education, health protection, and social welfare, are laid down in the voivodship annual plans.

2. The work of regional authorities concerning the above tasks will be financed out of the funds at their disposal and partly out of central funds. It will also be backed by the material resources discussed in paragraph 22.

Paragraph 22.

1. In order to back the work that is covered in regional plans, the following is guaranteed.
   1) In the sphere of housing construction and refurbishing:
      a) Materials used in housing construction and refurbishing that are in particularly short supply will be subject to government orders;
      b) The minister of land management and construction industry will have at his disposal the Land Management and Housing Economy Fund, to the value of Z150 billion (in terms of 1989 prices). This money will be used to prepare building sites for housing;
      c) Priority in the availability of building sites and housing cooperative credits will be accorded to people who joined housing cooperatives by 24 October 1987. This is in pursuance of the 23 October 1987 law governing changes to some of the principles of the functioning of the national economy.
   2) In the sphere of water management, environmental protection, and communal economy, the construction of the following will be financed out of funds allocated for central investment projects, in accordance with table 6 of appendix 1:
      a) Water pipelines for Warsaw, Katowice, and Krakow:
      b) Five reservoirs:
         —Swinna Poreba on the Skawa River;
         —The Czorsztyn-Niedzica-Sromowce Wyzne group of water basins on the Dunajec River;
         —Klimkowka on the Ropa River;
         —Jeziorsko on the Warta River;
         —Bukowka on the Bobr River;
      c) Eight sewage treatment plants:
         —"Klimzowiec" in Chorzow;

—"Radocha" in Sosnowiec;
—"Centrum" in Siemianowice;
—"Czajka" in Warsaw;
—The first stage of the Lodz plant;
—The first stage of the Gdynia-Debogora plant;
—The second stage of the Elblag plant;
—The first stage of the "Hajdow" plant in Lublin;

d) The Warsaw subway.

3) In the sphere of education, health protection, and social welfare:
   a) Selected investment projects in education and health protection will be covered by government orders;
   b) The minister of health and social security will have at his disposal the National Health Protection Fund, to the value of Z22,660,000 (in terms of 1989 prices). This money will be used to build hospitals.

2. The minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industry will have at his disposal a financial reserve of Z56 billion (in terms of 1989 prices) to pay for land improvement tasks that are contained in voivodship annual plans.

Chapter 4. A Forecast for the Attainment of Plan Objectives [chapterhead]

Paragraph 23.

The quantities contained in chapter 4 constitute a forecast of 1989 economic processes, taking into account:

1) Available supplies of the factors of production listed in paragraph 24;
2) The envisaged effects of the systemic solutions in force and the effects of implementing the legal principles and resolutions listed in chapter 3;
3) The results of the undertakings laid down in the National Socioeconomic Plan;
4) The need to perform the tasks listed in paragraphs 6 and 7.

Paragraph 24.

1. It is estimated that the number of people working in the national economy will increase by 120,000. This includes an increase of 60,000 in the number of people working in the material production sphere.

2. It is envisaged that domestic production of fuels and materials for which central accounts are kept will rise by 1.6 percent. Given that exports will fall by 5.9 percent and imports will rise by 4.4 percent, this will permit a 1.9-percent increase in supplies of the abovementioned fuels and materials in order to satisfy the needs of the country. This includes a 1.7-percent increase in these commodities for production purposes.

3. It is envisaged that the fixed assets of production will increase by 3.3 percent, including 3.6 percent in industry. At the same time, it is envisaged that the depreciation of fixed assets in the material production sphere will increase from 42.5 percent to 43.5 percent.

Agriculture and the Food Economy [subtitle]

Paragraph 25.

1. It is estimated the total value of agricultural production will amount to Z2,590 billion, that is, 2.8 percent more than in 1988:
   1) crop production will account for Z1,470 billion, that is, 4.3 percent more than in 1988;
   2) animal production will account for Z1,120 billion, that is, 0.9 percent more than in 1988.

2. It is estimated that total output for the agriculture sector (including units that provide service to agriculture) will be worth Z3,195 billion, that is, 3.1 percent more than in 1988.

3. In order to attain the higher output mentioned in point 1, it is envisaged that:
   1) more extensive use will made of integrated technology systems in the cultivation of cereals, rape, sugar beet, and potatoes. The amount of land on which systems of this kind are employed will increase from 1.5 million hectares in 1988 to 2.6 million hectares in 1989. In the case of the cultivation of intensive cereals (wheat, barley, rye-wheat), the amount of land involved will increase from 4 million hectares in 1988 to 4.2 million hectares in 1989;
   2) the condition of about 155,000 hectares of farmland will be improved;
   3) the use of mineral fertilizers will be increased to a level of 200 kilogrammes per hectare of farmland;
   4) liming of soil will increase as a result of supplies of lime rising to at least 3.8 million tonnes.
   5) supplies of pesticides will increase to 23,000 tonnes of active substance;
   6) supplies of nutritive feeds from state stocks will increase to 5.2 million tonnes and imports of high-protein concentrates and feeds will increase to about 1,680,000 tonnes.

Paragraph 26.

1. It is envisaged that total food industry output will amount to Z2,345 billion, that is, 2.5 percent more than in 1988.

Paragraph 27.

1. It is estimated that investment outlay for agriculture will amount to Z325 billion, that is, 3.2 percent more than in 1988 and that investment for the food and feeds industries will amount to Z90 billion, that is, 15.4 percent more than in 1988.

2. It is is envisaged that investment outlays for branches of industry that supply agriculture will increase as follows:
   1) electrical engineering—9.5 percent;
   2) chemicals—14.3 percent.

3. It is estimated that investment outlay for the food economy will increase from 20.9 percent to 21.1 percent as a percentage of total investment outlay.

Supplies to the Marketplace [subtitle]

Paragraph 28.

1. It is envisaged that supplies of consumer goods and services will amount to Z6,070 billion, that is, about 6 percent more than in 1988, with:
   a) foodstuffs increasing by 3.7 percent;
   b) nonfoodstuffs increasing by 8.3 percent;
   c) services increasing by 6.3 percent.

2. It is estimated that imports of consumer goods will increase by 6.1 percent.

Housing Construction [subtitle]

Paragraph 29.

1. It is envisaged that between 203,000 and 208,000 housing units will be made available for occupancy, that is, 2.9 to 5.4 percent more than in 1988, with cooperative housing construction providing 95,000 units (5.1 percent more than in 1988), and individual housing construction providing between 66,000 and 71,000 units (an increase of between 3.8 and 11.6 percent).

2. It is envisaged that repairs will be carried out on 288,000 apartments, that is, 0.8 percent fewer than in 1988. Capital repairs and modernization work will be carried out on 132,600 apartments, that is, 4.4 percent more than in 1988.

3. It is estimated that resources allocated for repairs to and the modernization of housing will amount to Z98.2 billion, that is, 15.9 percent more than in 1988, with expenditure on capital repairs and modernization amounting to Z41.7 billion, that is, 21.6 percent more than in 1988.

4. It is envisaged that investment outlay for municipal services will increase by 7.7 percent.

Paragraph 30.

1. It is estimated that investment outlay for the housing sector will amount to between Z476 billion and Z487 billion, that is, 2.6 to 5 percent more than in 1988. Investment outlay for housing construction will amount to between Z508 billion and Z519 billion, that is, 2.4 to 4.6 percent more than in 1988.

2. It is envisaged that investment on the minerals industry will increase by 11.5 percent, with investment in the building materials industry increasing by 15 percent.

Environmental Protection and Water Management [subtitle]

Paragraph 31.

1. It is envisaged that outlay on environmental protection will amount to Z83.3 billion, which is 20 percent more than in 1988. Outlay on the central investment projects listed in paragraph 22, point 1, item 2, letter c, will amount to Z4.8 billion, which is 37.1 percent more than in 1988.

2. Planned outlay on water management will amount to Z82.1 billion, which is 28.2 percent more than in 1988. Outlay on the central investment projects listed in paragraph 22, point 1, item 2, letters a and b, will amount to Z12.9 billion, which is 10.3 percent more than in 1988.

3. In the sphere of environmental protection and water management, it is envisaged that (apart from the material effects listed in paragraph 6, items 8 and 9), 500 hectares of land where industrial waste is kept will be recultivated, 115 million tons of environmentally harmful waste products will be purified, the capacity of reservoirs will be increased by about 4 million cubic meters, the length of controlled rivers will be increased by about 879 km, and the length of anti-flood barriers will be increased by about 122 km.

Implementing Scientific Progress [subtitle]

Paragraph 32.

1. It is envisaged that outlay on research and development work and on support for inventiveness will amount to Z942.7 billion (in terms of 1989 prices). This means that this outlay will take up 2.8 percent of the distributed national income.

2. The sources for financing central scientific tasks will be:
   1) The Central Research and Development Work Fund, to the value of Z436 billion (in terms of 1989 prices);
   2) The Central Inventiveness Support Fund, to the value of Z162.7 billion (in terms of 1989 prices);

3. It is estimated that enterprise spending on research and development work will amount to Z344 billion (in terms of 1989 prices).

Foreign Trade Turnover [subtitle]

Paragraph 33.

1. It is envisaged that exports will rise by 4.6 percent. The value of exports of goods and services to the first area of payments (in current hard currency prices) is reckoned to be R11,600 million, 1.8 percent more than in 1988, and the value exported to the second area of payments is reckoned to be $9,100 million, 11 percent more than in 1988.

2. It is envisaged that enterprise funds as a result of foreign currency grants for exports to the second area of payments will amount to $2,400 million, 50 percent more than in 1988.

Paragraph 34.

1. Given the need to achieve the trade balance listed in paragraph 7, item 4, the increase in exports mentioned in paragraph 33, point 1 will permit a 7.1-percent increase in imports, including:
    1) A 5.9-percent increase in imports for supply purposes;
    2) A 17.3-percent increase in imports for investment purposes.

2. It is estimated that imports of goods and services from the first area of payments (in hard currency prices) will be R11, 0.9 percent more than in 1988; and imports from the second area of payments will be $7.9 million, 12.9 percent more than in 1988.

The Macroproportions of the Plan [subtitle]

Paragraph 35.

1. It is envisaged that:
    1) Productivity will rise by 4.4 percent;
    2) The material-intensiveness of production, measured by the consumption of basic fuels and materials for every Z1 billion worth of total production, will fall by 2.2 percent;
    3) The average productivity indicator for every piece of fixed assets will rise by 0.7 percent.

2. It is envisaged that, given the figures provided in point 1, the value of total production will amount to Z21,191.5 billion, 4 percent more than in 1988.

Paragraph 36.

1. It is estimated that the produced national income will increase by 4.2 percent, reaching a value of about Z9,160 billion, whereas the distributed national income will increase by 4.8 percent and reach a value of Z9,040 billion.

2. It is envisaged that consumption will increase by 4.1-4.3 percent, including a 4.3-4.5 percent increase in consumption out of the population's personal incomes.

3. The percentage of accumulation in the national income will increase from 30.2 percent in 1988 to 30.5-30.6 percent in 1989. Capital spending will increase by 5-5.5 percent, including:
    a) By about 5.9 percent in the material production sphere;
    b) By about 3.2-4.7 percent in the non-material production sphere.

4. It is envisaged that increases in capital spending in individual branches of the national economy will be:
    —In industry, 7.1 percent; including:
    —In the fuel and energy industry, 2.9 percent;
    —In the metal industry, 2.7 percent;
    —In the electrical industry, 10.2 percent;
    —In the chemical industry, 6 percent;
    —In the mineral industry, 11.5 percent;
    —In the timber and paper industry, 5.3 percent;
    —In the light industry, 5.6 percent;
    —In the food and fodder industry, 15.4 percent;
    —In construction, 2 percent;
    —In agriculture, 3.2 percent;
    —In transportation, 6.6 percent;
    —In communications, 9.5 percent;
    —In trade, 3.2 percent;
    —In the communal economy, 7.7 percent;
    —In the housing economy, 2.6-5 percent;
    —In education, 5 percent;
    —In health protection and social welfare, 4.6 percent;
    —In physical culture and tourism, 3.8 percent.

5. It is estimated that spending on machines and equipment out of total capital spending will rise from 33 percent to 33.7 percent, including a rise in the material production sphere from 44.4 to 44.9 percent.

Paragraph 37.

1. It is foreseen that the output of socialized industry will increase by 4.2 percent, including a 4.7 percent rise in production for export purposes and a 5.5 percent rise in production for the home market.

2. It is estimated that the following increases in production will be achieved in basic branches of industry:

	billions of zlotys	1988 equals 100
Fuels and energy	1527	101.7
Metals	1000	101.2
Electrical goods	3365	106
Chemicals	1029	105.4
Minerals	450	102.5
Timber and paper	525	104.9
Light industry	1354	106.9
Food	2345	102.5

3. It is estimated that the output of state small-scale production will rise by 4.7 percent, and supplies of goods to the market will rise by 5.2 percent

Chapter 5. A Plan of State Finances [chapterhead]

Paragraph 38.

1. The plan of state finances, appendix 2 of this resolution, is a concise listing of incomes and expenditures to and from the state budget, banks, and specific-purpose funds, as well as expenditures of enterprises to pay for investments and commodities.

2. The financial plan takes into account the data contained in the government draft budget, balance sheet of the population's incomes and expenditures, balance of payments, plan for specific-purpose funds, and the draft credit plan presented by the president of the Polish National Bank.

3. All the values expressed in chapter 5 are in terms of current prices.

Paragraph 39.

1. It is envisaged that total incomes in the plan of state finances will amount to Z26,298 billion, which is 49.6 percent more than in 1988, whereby:
   1) The basic source of income in the plan of state finances will be the financial accumulation of state enterprises, which comprises 53.4 percent of their absolute income (in 1988, this figure was 46.7 percent);
   2) The percentage of the population's financial resources in relation to other income in the plan for state finances will fall from 15.6 percent in 1988 to 8.9 percent in 1989;
   3) The foreign trade balance of Z583 billion, brought about by debt repayments, will reduce the income in the plan of state finances by 2.2 percent, compared to 4.2 percent in 1988.

2. It is envisaged that total spending in the plan for state finances will amount to Z26,978 billion, which is 53.2 percent more than in 1988, whereby:
   1) Expenditure to pay for development in the state economy will amount to Z12,792 billion; which is 32.3 percent more than in 1988, and will constitute 47.4 percent of all expenditure, compared to 54.9 percent of all expenditure in 1988.
   2) Current expenditure will amount to Z13,516 billion, 78.6 percent more than in 1988, and will constitute 50.1 percent of total expenditure, compared to 43 percent in 1988.

Chapter 6. Final Rules [chapterhead]

Paragraph 40.

By 15 March 1989, voivodas will supply the chairman of the Government Planning Commission with information on selected parts of the voivodship annual plans. Should there be major discrepancies between these and the Central Annual Plan, the chairman of the Government Planning Commission will submit to the Council of Ministers a draft of suitable changes to the Central Annual Plan.

Paragraph 41.

1. The president of the Polish National Bank will determine the extent of the credits to be available for cooperative housing, which will comprise at least 20 percent of the credits available for new multifamily cooperative housing construction.

2. The Central Union of Cooperative Housing Construction will see to it that at least 1 percent of the cooperative housing completed in 1989 will be furnished with equipment suitable for handicapped persons.

Paragraph 42.

The minister of transport, shipping, and communications and the minister of land management and construction industry are authorized to supply new vehicles to:
1) Municipal transportation enterprises, in exchange for not less than 30 percent of the value of the vehicles that were paid for out of these enterprises' development funds;
2) Street cleaning enterprises, in exchange for not less than 50 percent of the value of the vehicles that were paid for out of these enterprises' development funds.

Paragraph 43.

The minister of transport, shipping, and communications is authorized to initiate the modernization of fast highways, provided that the value of this work does not exceed 25 percent of the total subsidies available for road and bridge improvements.

Paragraph 44.

Should the PPR Sejm adopt a state budget, balance sheet of people's incomes and expenditures, state balance of payments, and credit plans that contain values that are different than those in the drafts of these documents approved by the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, in concert with the minister of finance, will submit to the Council of Ministers a proposal concerning suitable amendments to the Central Annual Plan.

Paragraph 45.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission will prepare and announce:
1) A guide entitled "The Principles and Instruments of Implementing Plans in 1989";
2) A reference aid entitled "Economic Reports and Forecasts—1989."

Paragraph 46.

Whenever this resolution mentions:
a) voivodas, it also includes the mayors of Warsaw, Krakow, and Lodz;
b) ministers, it also includes the heads of central offices.

Paragraph 47.

Council of Ministers resolution number 141/88 of 8 August 1988 concerning the inclusion in central annual plans of imports of goods from the second area of payments and some methods of controlling foreign trade is hereby invalid.

Paragraph 48.

This resolution comes into effect on the day of its conception.

Appendix 1—Detailed Decisions

Table 1. A balance sheet of basic fuels and materials.

In the unit of measure columns, A equals the 1988 quantities and B equals the 1989 quantities in thousands of tonnes, and C is the percentage of 1989 quantities in relation to 1988

Item		Origin of Fuels and Materials			
	unit of measure	domestic production (extraction, procurement)	other domestic origin, incl. from stocks held by suppliers	imported from first payments area	imported from second payments area
Coal and briquettes	A	193,000	1,250	1,100	0
	B	191,500	1,300	1,100	0
	C	99.2	104	100	0
Coke	A	17,205	565	0	0
	B	18,065	585	0	0
	C	105	103		
Crude oil	A	120	0	12,750	2,200
	B	110	0	12,750	2,600
	C	91.7		100	118.2
Petroleum engine fuels and pyrolytic gasoline	A	3,370	0	570	0
	B	3,530	0	570	0
	C	104.7		100	
Fuel for engines with self-ignition	A	5,265	0	1,150	0
	B	5,440	0	1,150	0
	C	103.3			
Heating oil	A	2,430	0	240	0
	B	2,515	0	240	0
	C	103.5		100	
Paper	A	1,170	0	72	40
	B	1,170	0	85	35
	C	100		118.8	87.5
Protein feed	A	4,800	0	0	0
	B	5,200	0	0	0
	C	108.3			
Basic cereals	A	5,500	340	120	2,800
	B	6,300	0	120	3,000
	C	114.5		100	107.1

Item	Destiny of Fuels and Materials					
	Unit of measure	Production	Market destiny	Other, incl. stocks held by domestic suppliers	Exports to first payments area	Exports to second payments area
Coal and briquettes	A	132,050	30,500	1,050	14,170	17,580
	B	133,800	30,500	3,600	14,000	12,000
	C	101.3	100	104.8	98.8	68.3
Coke	A	11,590	3,040	600	2,109	431
	B	11,640	3,100	760	2,709	431
	C	100.4	102	110	128.4	100
Crude oil	A	15,070	0	0	0	0
	B	15,460	0	0	0	0
	C	102.6	102.6			
Petroleum engine fuels and pyrolytic gasoline	A	1,839	1,880	156	3.4	56.6
	B	1,920	1,995	175	4	0
	C	104.4	106.1	92.5	117.6	
Fuel for engines with self-ignition	A	5,206	790	184	12.5	87.5
	B	5,243	895	287	12.5	7.5
	C	100.7	113.3	111.2	100	8.6
Heating oil	A	2,529	0	1	2	138
	B	2,564.4	0	136	2	58
	C	101.4		60	100	42
Paper	A	1,116	27	11	2	126
	B	1,051.9	27	43.2	13.9	153.5
	C	94.3	100	120	695	121.8
Protein feed	A	4,800	0	0	0	0
	B	5,200	0	0	0	0
	C	108.3				
Basic cereals	A	7,760	500	0	0	100
	B	7,180	500	610	0	100
	C	100.6	100			100

Total origin of fuels and materials is equal to their total destiny, as follows (quantities are in thousands of tons; A equals 1988 quantities, B equals 1989 quantities, and C is the percentage of 1989 quantities compared with 1988):

	A	B	C
Coal and briquettes:	195,350	193,900	99.3
Coke:	17,770	18,650	105
Crude oil:	15,070	15,460	102.6
Petroleum engine fuels and pyrolytic gasoline:	3,940	4,100	104
Fuel for engines with self-ignition:	6,415	6,590	102.7
Heating oil:	2,670	2,755	103.2
Paper:	1,282	1,290.5	100.7
Protein feed:	4,800	5,200	108.3
Basic grain:	8,760	9,420	107

Table 2. Selected Uses of Basic Fuels and Materials for Production Purposes (in the units of measure column, A equals 1988 quantities, B equals 1989 quantities, and C equals the percentage of 1989 quantities against 1988. Quantities are in thousands of tons):

item	units of measure	coal extraction	energy production	transport	health care	food
Coal and briquettes	A		58,500	1,000	290	7,650
	B		60,500	900	290	7,700
	C		103.4	90	100	100.7
Coke	A	42	14.5	160	2.5	190
	B	44	15	170	3	200
	C	104.8	103.4	106.3	120	105.3
Petroleum engine fuels and pyrolytic gasoline	A	27	35.5	110		155
	B	27.5	36.5	110		155
	C	101.9	102.8	100		100
Fuel for engines with self-ignition	A	140	100.5	1,580		1,211
	B	148	101.0	1,595		1,216
	C	105.7	100.5	100.9		100.4
Heating oil	A		500		1.3	363
	B		531.5		1.3	380
	C		106.3		100	104.7
Paper						
	A			3.7	0.5	28.5
	B			4.5	0.6	28.5
	C			121.6	120	100

Table 3. Destiny of basic fuels and materials for the manufacture of commodities of fundamental importance to the national economy

Type of Item		Unit of Measure	1988	1989	1988/1989 production
Coke	Coal	thousands of tons	22,450	23,500	104.7
Electricity	Coal	"	44,000	45,100	102.5
Electricity	Heating oil	"	500	500	100
Heat	Coal	"	6,500	6,550	100.8
Ore	Coke	"	6,450	6,450	100
Pyrolysis	Gasoline	"	900	1,000	111.1
Cement	Coal	"	3,850	3,900	101.3
Cement	Oil	"	140	130	92.9
Lime	Coke	"	710	750	105.6
Publishing	Paper	"	240	240	100
Glass	Heating oil	"	125	125	100
Fishing	Fuel for engines with self-ignition	"	140	140	100

Table 4. Reserves of basic fuels, materials, means of transport, and building machines for which central accounts are kept:

Item	Units of measure	Size of reserve
Coal and briquettes	thousands of tonnes	2,500
Coke	"	110
Engine fuels and pyrolytic gasoline	"	50
Fuel for engines with self-ignition	"	60
Heating oil	"	130

Item	Units of measure	Size of reserve
Copper and copper	tons	3,700 semi-fabricates
Tin	"	60
Aluminum	"	2,000
Silver	"	33
Cars	units	500
Buses	"	450
Trucks and tractors (except for the "ARO," "Tarpan," "Star-742," "IFA," and "Osinobus" types)	"	2,300
Paper cellulose	thousands of tonnes	25
Paper	"	30
Asphalt	tonnes	20,000
Rolled metal goods	thousands of tons	130
Steel sheets	"	9
Tin sheets	"	2
Metal rods	"	4
Aluminum oxide	tonnes	1,000
Zinc	"	1,800
Lead	"	1,715
Manganese	thousands of tonnes	50
Copper products	tonnes	600
Aluminum products	"	500
Building excavators	units	205
Building bucket loaders	"	65
Building bulldozers	"	35
Two-axle tractors	"	4,360
Cables and wires	km	11,690
Cables and wires	tonnes	640
Car batteries	thousands of units	20
Sulfur	thousands of tonnes	33
Soda and sodium bicarbonate	"	5
Polyethylene	tonnes	4,000
Polypropylene	"	2,000
PVC	"	4,600
Polystyrene	"	1,900
Natural rubbers	"	2,000
Synthetic rubbers	"	2,000
Paints	millions of liters	10
Polystyrene tiles	square meters	5,000
PVC floor coverings and tiles	"	1,200
Car tires	thousands of units	50
Tires for trucks and machines (except agriculture)	"	50
Tractor tires	"	27.5
Tires for agricultural machines	"	40
Inner tubes for tires	"	60
Rubber hosepipes	km	30
Cement	thousands of tonnes	450
Tar paper	thousands of square meters	1,500
Mineral wool and fiberglass	"	425
Timber from coniferous trees	thousands of cubic meters	100
Timber from deciduous trees	"	7
Chipboard	"	20
Cardboard	"	7
Synthetic fibers	thousands of tonnes	2.1
Cotton	tonnes	1,000
Cotton fabrics	km	100
Wool	tonnes	1,000
Woolen fabrics	km	2
Leather	tonnes	4,000
Sugar	thousands of tonnes	50

Table 5. List of planned stocks of basic materials in 1989.

material	unit of measure	quantity	value in millions of zlotys	storage period
Iron & magnesium ores	thousands of tonnes	8,106	10,700	2-3years
Steel waste	tonnes	327,358	4,297	1-3years
Iron waste	"	25,930	484.2	2years
Rolled metal goods	"	2,461.6	1,090	2years
Steel pipes	km	1,065	2,578.8	2years
Steel sheets	tonnes	375	160.8	2years
Forged metal	tonnes	707	893.5	2years
Chrome pipes	thousands of tonnes	125	2,941	1year
Copper concentrate	"	127	15,875	3years

material	unit of measure	quantity	value in millions of zlotys	storage period
Iron & magnesium ores	thousands of tonnes	8,106	10,700	2-3years
Used cables	tonnes	12,731	668.4	3years
Used car batteries	"	2,510	128.5	1year
Aluminum waste	"	10,655	2,354.8	2years
Steel waste	"	1,620	11.3	3years
Sludge from copper production	thousands of tonnes	210	420	5years
Nickel	"	0.6	509	1year
Silicon crystals	tonnes	29.5	678.1	2years
Steel cord	"	600	7,662	1year
Phosphorites	"	300,600	6,217.4	1year
Barites and apatites	"	10,000	350	1year
Borocalcite	"	11,000	973	1year
Aluminum oxide	"	1,800	162	1year
Potash salt	thousands of tonnes	120	1,260	1year
Ammonium sulfide	"	50	165	1year
Natural rubbers	tonnes	4,582	2,291	1year
Latex rubber	"	1,070	448	1year
Synthetic rubber	"	9,430	3,326	1year
Synthetic latex	"	260	228	1year
Silk yarn	"	140	81	2years
Reactor fuel	rods	182	320	1year
Sand for glassmaking	thousands of tonnes	5,687	256.3	11years
Cotton	tonnes	4,200	3,200	1year
Raw cotton fabrics	thousands of meters	4,000	1,400	1year
Finished cotton fabrics	thousands of meters	2,736	1,892	1year
Linen fiber (long)	tonnes	2,500	3,000	1year
Linen fiber (short)	"	3,000	1,200	1year
Agricultural cord	tonnes	5,000	2,000	1year
Oil derived from coke	"	465	144.1	1year
Technical grease	"	5,940	785.9	1year
Jute	"	5,000	1,200	1year
Fiber derived from coke	"	504	86	1year

Table 7 [number as published] List of projects in the generation industry, to commence in 1989.

Name of Project	increase in capacity (in megawatts)		completion
	Heat	Electricity	
Total projects	440	150	
Chorzow Power Station (reestablishment of its heat-producing capacity)	110	50	1994
Krakow Heat and Power Generating Plants (construction of stage five)	330	100	1995

Table 8. Investment outlay by budgetary units (1989 prices, in millions of zlotys)

Total	257,000
Ministry of National Education	11,055
Polish Academy of Sciences	3,300
Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	10,250
Youth and Physical Culture Committee	1,740
Ministry of Culture and Art	5,000
Ministry of Land Management and Construction	8,060
Total	257,000
Ministry of Labor and Social Policy	8,795
Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications	56,887
Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food industries	4,342
Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources	17,925
Main Statistical Office	3,690
Minister of Industry	320
Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation	610
Ministry of Industry	320
Ministry of Internal Trade	140
Polish Atomic Agency	30
Higher Mining Office	30
State Council Chancellery	786
Sejm Chancellery	1,210
Office of the Council of Ministers	5,584
Council of Ministers Planning Commission	728
Ministry of Finance	2,820
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	418
PAP	619
Polish Weights and Measures Committee	1,797
Main Committee for Publications and Shows	31

Total	257,000
Supreme Court	31
State Labor Inspectorate	198
Prosecutor's Office	1,070
Patent Office	205
State Economic Arbitration Committee	17
Office of Scientific Progress and Inventions	590
Supreme Chamber of Control	90
Cinematography Committee	146
Office of Religious Affairs	16
Other offices	78,610
National Economic Revitalization Fund	22,620

Table 9. Distribution of imports from the second area of payments for primary purposes.

In the "form of accounting" column, zone A means non-cash turnover, in other words, in the form of clearing agreements and exchange transactions; zone B means cash turnover. Figures are in millions of dollars in terms of current prices.

	Predicted figures for 1989		
	Item total	Form of accounting	
		A	B
Exports	9,100		
Imports	7,900	1,350	6,550
Balance	1,200		
	Distributionofimports		
Decentralized resources, including those:	4,700	1,012	3,687
from enterprises	2,400	150	2,250
from Trade Bank grants	1,600	589.1	1,101.9
from Export Development Bank grants	650	273	377
from the agricultural fund	50		50
Imports for domestic hard currency sales and for reexport	420	70	350
Central resources	2,780	267.9	2,512.1
Centrally financed goods including:	1,340	171.5	1,168.5
crude oil	338		
chemical additives for feed	50		
Pesticides	170		
Oilcake	416		
Dried fish meal	48		
Cereals	318		
Government reserve	500		500
Government orders	713.5	86.8	626.7
Health protection including:	458.4	56	402.4
government orders	430	56	374
anti-AIDS program	28.4	28.4	
Science and technology	70		70
Communications	39.2		39.2
National defense	11.3		11.3
National security	8		8
Resources for the sociocultural sphere and for budgetary units that do not have their own foreign currency resources	69.6	9.6	60
Ministry of Culture and Art	10.5		
Ministry of National Education	14		
Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources	1.5		
Ministry of Labor and Social Policy	0.4		
Ministry of Finance	1.2		
Radio and TV Committee	5.8		
Weights and Measures Committee	0.2		
Central Union of Invalids Cooperatives	7.5		
Central Union of Blind People's Cooperatives	4.5		
Union of the Deaf	0.1		
Union of the Blind	0.5		
Workers Publishing House	11		
Academy of Sciences	2		
Atomic Agency	0.5		
PAP	0.4		
National Bank	4.5		
Office of the Council of Ministers	1.5		
Government Planning Commission	0.5		
Main Statistical Office	2.5		
Social Economic Activity	0.2		

Table 10. Employment and Wages in the Budgetary Sphere

	Employment, in thousands			
Item	1987	1988	1989	1989/88
Total	2,279.4	2,353.9	2,395.7	101.8
Construction	8.5	9.8	10.3	105.1
Agriculture	65	69.5	69.9	100.6
Forestry	1.6	1.8	2	111.1
Transport	6.5	7.3	8.3	113.7
Communications	0.4	0.5	0.5	100
Trade	2.4	2.8	2.9	103.6
Remainder of material production sphere	13.8	15.4	15.7	101.9
Communal economy	12.8	14.3	14.5	101.4
Housing economy	42.7	43.6	42	96.3
Science and technology	7.2	8.2	8.5	103.6
Education	902.1	919.1	933.6	101.6
Culture and art	44.1	48.7	50.5	103.7
Health and social welfare	748.9	773	791	102.3
Physical culture and recreation	34	37.4	37.9	101.3
Remaining non-material services	13.5	15	15.9	106
State administration	171.2	175.6	176	100
Judiciary	56.2	58.9	59.8	100.5

Employment, in thousands

Item	1987	1988	1989	1989/88
Total	2,279.4	2,353.9	2,395.7	101.8
Finance and insurance	127.2	130.1	133	102.2
Subsidized social organizations	9.4	10.1	10.1	100

Wages, in millions of zlotys

Item	1987	1988	1989	1989/88
Total	742,371	1,300,964	1,682,000	129.3
Industry	4,200	7,068	8,879	125.6
Construction	3,599	6,310	7,771	123.2
Agriculture	25,123	42,287	51,102	102.8
Forestry	478	886	1,203	135.8
Transport	1,940	3,601	5,051	140.3
Communications	146	268	311	116
Trade	741	1,476	1,774	120.2
Remainder of material production sphere	4,118	7,709	9,367	121.5
Communal economy	3,593	6,583	8,361	127
Housing economy	12,997	23,818	27,104	113.8
Science and technology	3,227	5,240	6,423	122.6
Education	288,425	489,713	694,296	141.8
Culture and art	16,260	29,181	36,403	124.7
Health and social welfare	218,994	408,718	489,715	119.8
Physical culture and recreation	16,973	27,356	32,605	119.2
Remaining nonmaterial services	4,186	8,007	12,002	149.9
State administration	62,508	105,328	128,994	122.5
Judiciary	24,186	42,275	58,476	138.5
Finance and insurance	46,065	77,872	92,832	119.2
Subsidized social organizations	4,592	7,268	8,992	123.7

Appendix 2. State Financial Plan

Table 1.

figures in billions of zlotys

Item	1988	1989	1989/88
Total incomes	17,584	26,298	149.6
Incomes from Polish sources	18,324	26,881	146.7
Incomes from the state economy	14,584	22,921	157.2
Financial accumulation of assets	8,204	14,040	171.1
Payments to the state budget and to social funds	3,837	5,739	149.6
Depreciation	1,230	1,600	130.1
Profits of financial institutions	463	758	163.7
Remaining funds	850	784	92.2
Total incomes	17,584	26,298	149.6
Incomes from the population and private economy	930	1,520	163.4
Growth of financial resources	2,810	2,440	86.8
Growth of people's cash resources	2,750	2,340	85.1
Growth of enterprise cash resources	60	100	166.7
Balance of foreign turnover	Minus 740	Minus 583	-
Total expenditures	17,613	26,978	153.2
Expenditure to finance the development of the state economy	9,666	12,792	132.3
Capital spending	5,577	8,519	152.8
Spending on refurbishing	389	473	121.6
Growth in turnover funds	3,700	3,800	102.7
Current expenditures	7,567	13,516	178.6
Current expenditures out of the state budget	4,371	6,972	159.5
Expenditures out of social insurance funds	2,754	4,693	170
Subsidies for the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund	-	1,024	-
Profits for distribution to work forces	442	827	187.1
Balance of credits for the private economy and population	380	670	176.3
Negative balance	Minus 29	Minus 680	-

State Financial Plan (structure)
Figures are percentages

Item	1987	1988	1989
Total incomes	100	100	100
Incomes from Polish sources	104.2	104.2	102.2
Incomes from the state economy	92.3	82.9	87.1
Financial accumulation of assets	48	46.7	53.4
Payments to the state budget and to social funds	26.4	21.8	21.8
Depreciation	9	7	6
Profits of financial institutions	2.6	2.6	2.9
Remaining funds	6.4	4.8	3
Incomes from the population and private economy	6	5.3	5.8
Growth of financial resources	5.8	16	9.3

State Financial Plan (structure)
Figures are percentages

Item	1987	1988	1989
Growth of people's cash resources	5.7	15.6	8.9
Growth of enterprise cash resources	0.1	0.4	0.4
Balance of foreign turnover	Minus 4.2	Minus 4.2	Minus 2.2
Total expenditures	100	100	100
Expenditure to finance on development of the state economy	52.8	54.9	47.4
Capital spending	33.5	31.7	
31.6			
Spending on refurbishing	2.5	2.2	1.7
Growth in turnover funds	16.8	21	14.1
Current expenditures	45.6	43	50.1
Current expenditures out of the state budget	26.7	24.8	25.8
Expenditures out of social insurance funds	16.1	15.7	17.4
Subsidies for the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund	-	-	3.8
Profits for distribution to work forces	2.7	2.5	3.1
Balance of credits for the private economy and population	1.7	2.1	2.5
Negative balance	Minus 1	Minus 0.2	Minus 2.5

FRG Paper Says Premier Dascalescu Died 24 Jan

AU0102081989 Hamburg BILD in German
1 Feb 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Romania's Premier Has Been Dead for a Week"]

[Text] Bonn—Romania's Premier Constantin Dascalescu (64) is dead. He died on 24 January. This has been confirmed by Western diplomatic circles. The news of his death has not been made public by Romania's Government so as not to disturb the celebrations for state and party chief Ceausescu's birthday on 26 January. Circles close to the Ceausescu clan assume that Causescu's wife Elena, who is already first deputy premier, will succeed Dascalescu.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Greet Polish Leaders

AU3001154289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Jan 89 p 5

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, on the 40th anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and Poland]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic,

To Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Warsaw,

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people and ourselves personally, we extend to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and the friendly Polish people warm comradely greetings and most heartfelt congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Romania and Poland.

We note with satisfaction that the first friendship treaty signed on 26 January 1949 gave a new qualitative content to the traditional relations of solidarity and cooperation between Romania and Poland and raised to higher levels the cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and international fields.

Our party and government and the whole Romanian nation highly value the state of the Romanian-Polish friendship and cooperation and express the conviction that—through joint efforts to consistently fulfill the provisions of the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed on 12 November 1970 and to implement the joint statements and other high-level understandings concluded in Bucharest and Warsaw—the relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and PZPR and between the SR of Romania and the Polish People's Republic will further expand, to the benefit and in the interest of the Romanian and Polish peoples and of the cause of socialism and peace.

On the occasion of this anniversary, we extend to you, dear comrades, and to the whole Polish nation, warm wishes for new and ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress and building socialism in your fatherland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania

CPSU's Medvedev Visiting, Discusses Ties

Received by Ceausescu

AU3101160589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1544 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/01/1989— On Tuesday, 31 January, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received V.A. Medvedev, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, who paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed from Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a warm salute and the best wishes of success in his entire activity.

Thanking, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev his greetings and the best wishes of success in his entire activity.

During the interview stress was laid on the friendly and cooperative links between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between Romania and the Soviet Union, between the peoples of the two countries which, in the spirit of the understandings covenanted during top-level meetings, witness continuous growth. Emphasis was also placed on the possibilities of further expanding the Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the political, economic, technical, scientific and other areas of joint interest. In that context, stress was laid on the significance of intensifying contacts and exchanges of experience, of amplifying the cooperation between the two parties in all areas.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu underscored that the intensification of bilateral ties, of the contacts with the other parties in the socialist countries should lead to their growing contribution to the settlement of the problems concerning the building of the new system, to all peoples' progress.

It was assessed that the ever more powerful development of the friendly and cooperative links between the two parties and count was for the good and benefit of the Romanian and Soviet peoples, of the general cause of socialism, of international peace, understanding and cooperation.

The interview was attended by Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Present was Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, Soviet Union's ambassador to Bucharest.

Talks With Olteanu

AU3101174189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1725 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/01/1989—At the invitation of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, V.A. Medvedev, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the CPSU, paid a visit to Romania over January 30-31.

The guest met and held talks, at the headquarters of the party's Central Committee, with Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The plan of ideological collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for 1989-1990 was signed on the occasion.

During his visit to Romania, the guest met with executives of the Academy of Social-Political Studies under the CC of the RCP.

Condolences Sent to Poland on Official's Death

AU3101154289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Jan 89 p 5

[Condolence message from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and to Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, on the death of Jozef Cyrankiewicz, former chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic and to Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Government of the SR of Romania, and on our own behalf, we extend to you, the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, our condolences in connection with the death of Comrade Josef Cyrankiewicz, former chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Likewise, please convey our full compassion to the bereaved family.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania

Stoian Attends Polish Embassy Reception

AU2701213389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1947 GMT 27 Jan 89

["On the Anniversary of the Signing of the First Romanian-Polish Treaty of Friendship"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/01/1989—On the anniversary of 40 years since the signing of the first Romanian-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance, Jerzy Wozniak, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Bucharest, gave a cocktail party on Friday, January 27.

In the attendance were Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, Neculai Ibanescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, ministers, party activists, men of letters and art.

LE FIGARO Interviews Dissident Petrescu

PM3001120489 Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with dissident writer Don Petrescu by Christophe Barreyre in Iasi; date not given]

[Text] Question: What does being a dissident mean?

Answer: The first time, I spoke as an individual. Now I have realized that I speak on behalf of others who lack the opportunity or the courage to do so. Of course there are risks, but for me it is a great relief. I have managed to reconcile my thoughts and words. That is saying a great deal....

Stupidity and Subversion

Question: What are the difficulties of everyday life?

Answer: Life is a constant struggle in our country. Lines of people have become a national institution. Following the Brasov unrest in November 1987 supplies were improved, but they remain haphazard. As you can well imagine, if you have to stand in line several hours a day you have no time to devote to yourself. All the more so if you are employed in an intellectual occupation. It is a nightmare—a desperate climate that has repercussions on life but also on people's human qualities. You have not known any Romanians at a better time than this, but it seems to me that even their facial expressions have changed. Perhaps they are the new man the government is hoping for but, if so, it is a disaster.

Question: What is the nature of your political struggle?

Answer: We want to initiate a kind of social dialogue. Hitherto, we have been accustomed to listening to the government's monologue. Everyone keeps silent but everyone wants to speak.

Question: Why are people afraid to speak?

Answer: They fear the consequences. You know, the repressive measures begin in the economic field.

There have been cases in which people who have spoken out have been thrown out. Then they no longer have a way of earning a living. People are afraid, but they are also unaccustomed to speaking. The civil society is virtually nonexistent, and this is what needs to be restored.

Question: Do you envisage any tougher actions to overthrow the regime?

Answer: At present there is nothing organized in this direction. However, a society that is so repressed will certainly explode some day. To overthrow the regime it is necessary also to exploit its stupidity. It is politicians who prompted the Brasov unrest by forcing people to come together to vote on a Sunday. Now there is talk of all kinds of dissatisfactions, even in the highest spheres of government. I do not know whether it is possible to speak in terms of a deliberate subversive action on their part, but their stupidity leads in that direction.

Question: What is Romania's future?

Answer: Extremes must be expected. Either it leaves Europe or it rejoins it. Things cannot continue like this any longer. A choice must be made between reintegration into Europe or barbarism.

Question: Could the USSR influence this choice?

Answer: How can you know? The Russians have said they will not interfere in Romania's internal affairs.

Question: What is your personal situation?

Answer: Following my interview with LIBERATION (27 January 1988) the political police summoned me. I was interrogated by three men for 5 hours at a stretch. They threatened me and said that sometimes the law is helped by a billy. They added that if I started again they would no longer tolerate me. The police interfered in my family life. My wife was asked whether she agreed with my ideas. I protested. I was told that my wife had to choose between her job and me. I told them to dismiss her if they wanted but no such measure has yet been taken.

Increase of Working People's Income Noted

AU3101175589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1719 GMT 31 Jan 89

["Dynamics of Work Force and Population's Incomes"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/01/1989—According to the latest statistical data, about eight million of Romania's active population—of over 11 million persons—were working in industry and in the other non-agricultural sectors in 1988 over three million in agriculture. [Sentence as received] in the 1965-1987 interval more than 3.5 million jobs were created, so that there are 340 working people in one thousand inhabitants, which places Romania in a front-ranking position at this indicator. Thus each citizen's fundamental right is observed to have a job which could ensure a certain and stable income for him and his family.

Owing to the constant increase of the national wealth, of the social product and the national income, not only the incomes from work increased but also the incomes from consumption social funds. The incomes from work retribution grew by applying successive increase measures, on the one hand, and by numerically growing the working personnel, on the other hand. Now, the total retribution fund of the working personnel reached about 315 billion lei, as compared to 57.2 billion lei in 1965, while the average nominal remuneration grew over the same interval from 1,028 lei per month to 3,035 at the end of 1987. A new stage of increasing tariff remunerations—by ten percent on an average—started on August 1, 1988. The retributions of up to 2,000 lei per month and those between 2,000-2,250 lei per month were increased until January 1, 1989 for the benefit of 4.3 million working people. In 1989, until August 1, the other categories of working people—whose remunerations are over 2,250 lei per month—will also benefit from the increase. Additional incomes will be also obtained by increasing the share of the working people's fund of participation to the production achievement, and profits, which increased from 2.5-3 percent to 3-3.5 percent, will add to the working people's additional income. The system of working people's participation in the enterprise's fund with social shares as personal property also ensure the participants an annual profit of 4-6 percent function of the enterprise's results. [sentence as received]

Hungarian Expert Calculates Systematization Costs

AU3001110989 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 30 Jan 89 p 9

["p.m." report: "Romania's 'Systematization': In Addition to Destruction of Villages Also Billions of Deficit?"]

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—The "systematization" of villages would cost Romania $380 to $400 million (about 5 billion schillings) per year. This surprising result has been reached by a Hungarian agricultural engineer in his study, which is supported by tables and statistics.

Expert Andras Tunyogi bases his study exclusively on data and newspaper articles from Romania, which speak of turning 348,000 hectares of soil into agricultural area. His "calculation of losses": For the replacement of the production of the individual plots that disappear because of the "systematization"—at present these plots guarantee the total supply to 2 million people and partial supply to another 2 to 3 million people—200,000 hectares of crop area are needed; on the remaining 150,000 hectares wheat, worth $47 to $78 million (depending on yield quality and the respective prices), could be harvested every year. After deducting transportation costs, this would bring export revenues of $29 to $54 million.

According to the surprising calculation, this is opposed by costs between $430 and $480 million. The main reason: The centrally planned and administered agricultural production is not only more sluggish but also more expensive than individual production. Corn cultivation results in a similar deficit.

Another two comparisons in the study make the proportions clear: The gain of soil of 348,000 hectares, which could be realized by destroying about 7,000 villages, would increase Romania's total agricultural production by only 2.6 to 3.2 percent. The same effect would be achieved if the per hectare yield on the currently cultivated areas were raised by 0.4 to 0.7 tonnes for grain and by 0.3 to 0.6 tonnes for corn. According to the study, this would be possible within a very short period through modernizing the obsolete Romanian agricultural technology.

The author also presents an alternative: By using Transylvania as a tourist area, not only would the population's standard of living increase but it would also be possible to achieve revenues between $200 to $250 million—not to speak of the advantage that the unique village culture would be preserved, Tunyogi says.

Hungary Plans Refugee Camp

According to agency reports, Hungary now plans to start building refugee camps because of the wave of Romanians streaming into the country. Last year 13,000 temporary residence permits were issued. At the beginning of February a delegation of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is expected to come to Budapest to discuss the country's accession to the 1951 Geneva convention.

New Ceausescu Book on Democracy Reviewed

AU3001130189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1109 GMT 30 Jan 89

["A New Volume From 'The Socio-Political Thinking of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu'"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 30/1/1989—The Bucharest Political Publishing House has recently put out a new volume of the series "The Socio-Political Thinking of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu", entitled "Revolutionary-Worker Democracy in Socialist Romania".

In four large sections, the volume gives a selection of the most representative conclusions, theses, principles, orientations and appreciations of the extensive theoretical oeuvre of the RCP general Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the multilateral nature of the factors and conditions that impose and ensure the actual implementation of the real and full, purposeful and efficient participation of the masses in governing the society, as well as the process-like character of the deepening of socialist democracy, of translating into life its exigencies.

The first part of the volume, "Socialism and Democracy" covers the substantive link. The multiple interconditionings, the inseparable unity between the new system and democracy. The firm, unflinching confidence that it is socialism alone that is characterized by true democracy has inspired the whole thinking of the RCP and Romanian state leader.

Upon the lasting foundation of the revolutionary changes carried through under the glorious leadership of our party, of dynamic modernization of our system of socialist production, of the steady economic, social and cultural progress, Nicolae Ceausescu synthetizes and demonstrates that the democracy of the socialist society is not a formal, purely theoretical concept, but a live reality, in a permanent process of improvement, a real, functional democracy that asserts its unquestionable superiority as compared with the bourgeois democracy. As against the capitalist society—the party's general secretary mentions—our system does not offer the illusion of an abstract, declarative democracy, but the reality of actual exercise of the people's sovereign rights in the state, of the largest democratic freedoms of the masses, expressed in the last analysis in the direct participation in the elaboration and implementation of the home and foreign policy, in governing the country. In this context, an indepth analysis is made, from the perspective of the victories won in building the new system, the unitary system of the factors of implementation of the socialist democracy. The real human rights thus find materialization—guaranteed materially, legally and politically—the right to work and pay according to the quality, quantity and social importance of the work done, the broad access to education and culture, real conditions of a decent life, full freedom, equality and broad assertion of human personality.

One of the fundamental theses governing Nicolae Ceausescu's conception, the whole activity of our party regarding socialist democracy is that referring to the building of socialism with the people and for the people.

Of cardinal importance is the establishment of a large organizational system of revolutionary-worker democracy, unique in its kind, that ensures the framework of direct, actual participation in all social spheres of the whole people in governing the society, in the working out of the plans of socio-economic development and cultural progress, of all the other decisions regarding the smooth run of activity in every unit. In this sense, the second chapter of the work analyzes extensively the assessments of the place and role of the Communist Party, the process of its full integration in society, its responsibilities as vital centre of the whole political and social system, the promoter of improvement and assertion of the socialist democracy. The RCP, the book existensively demonstrates, fulfils its historical mission not from above the society or through administrative method, or merely in behalf of the working class, but together with the working class, with the whole people, in the heat of the life and working class, with the whole people, in the heat of the life and work of every collective, assuming also the responsibilities entailed by its role as a ruling party.

An important place is also held by the theses regarding the definition of the Romanian state as a state of revolutionary-worker democracy in which the mass and public organizations are no longer seen as mere conveyor belts, having instead greater roles and competencies as viable, self-relying factors of the Romanian democratic system. The conclusion comes clearly to the fore that the party, the role of which grows continuously, does not hold the monopoly of political leadership, involving instead in the process of social leadership the state, the responsibilities of which grow permanently, the other components of the worker democracy. Telling are also the theses and orientations, fully confirmed, according to which throught the exemplary fulfillment of each and everyone's role and attributions—within the harmonious unity of the general, collective and individual interests—and throughout the continuous consolidation of their inner democracy of organization, they are a genuine school of revolutionary education, a factor of great importance in the whole process of development of the socialist democracy. Just like the process of harmonious blending of the direct and representative democracy and the ever closer collaboration of the state with the bodies of worker democracy, the continuous deepening of the worker self-management—the most comprehensive framework of participation direct of the working people in management, they reflect the genuine political pluralism of a society, superior to that existing in capitalism. It is from such a perspective that is regarded the role of the socialist democracy and unity front—the broadest and most representative democratic body that rallies directly 38 major socio-political organizations and, indirectly, all the other over 60 mass and public bodies and organizations, i.e. all social classes and categories. It is an expression of the granite-like unity of the whole people around and under the leadership of the RCP, as a decisive factor of the great victories of the Romanian people.

The third chapter of the work presents the socialist democracy at work, in every one of the major domains of social life, a telling expression of its wide-embracing character, of its strength and capability as a motive force of social progress, of the superiority of the Romanian society. At the same time, there is an in-depth analysis of the organic link and interconditioning between theses features and the firm observance of the principles of socialist legality, of the norms of community life, social order and discipline, of the responsibility for the fulfillment of the tasks, especially of the plan tasks, that ensure the implementation of the country's development programs.

The most convincing confirmation of the correctness of the RCP and its general secretary's theoretical and practical conception fully legitimates the conclusions and assessments comprised in the volume acording to which the principles and organizational framework in existence accord with the current development stage and therefore there is no question today for Romania to make structural changes but to ensure their better realization, and to take steps for the steady improvement of the whole activity. From this perspective, of great importance is the fourth chapter of the book, that comprises the major directions and orientations of improvement and further development of the revolutionary-worker democracy, the ensuring of an ever closer blending of the party, state and public activity, the strengthening and increase of the people's control over the leading bodies, the blending of the unitary leadership by the central bodies with the growing responsibilities and attributions of the local democratic bodies and those in socio-economic units.

The mainstay of the whole process of improvement of the system of revolutionary-worker democracy and economic and financial self-management and self-administration is thus the powerful growth of the multilateral competence, of the spirit of the initiative and participation, of order and discipline, the conscious observance of the values, principles and norms of society, the superior affirmation of every citizen's threefold position as owner, producer and end user.

20th LCY Central Committee Plenum Continues

Further on 30 Jan Debate

LD3101144189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—The 20th session of the LCY Central Committee began this morning in the Grand Hall of the Yugoslav Assembly.

The current ideopolitical situation in the country, relations within the LCY, and the work and accountability of the Central Committee and its Presidium are on the agenda. An introductory report, endorsed at yesterday's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will be submitted by the president, Stipe Suvar. The second item on the agenda is cadre issues.

Prior to the introductory report, LCY Central Committee members accepted seven resignations by Vojvodina LC Central Committee members. The extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC has proposed nine candidates, of whom eight will be elected, during a break in the session, for the vacant positions in the LCY Central Committee.

At the proposal of the Presidium, the Central Committee decided that the session proceedings would be open to the public.

The adoption of the demands by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC was preceded by a short debate.

Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, informed the Central Committee members that the Presidium had considered the demand by the extraordinary conference for seven resignations tendered by seven members of the Central Committee from Vojvodina to be reviewed, and that the Central Committee should take its stand on the list of the proposed candidates selected by the extraordinary conference by a secret ballot, and make its selection of eight new members from among them. The Presidium maintains, Korosec said, that this demand should be accepted so as to enable the Vojvodina LC to be represented in the Central Committee by members who have the confidence of this province.

Dusan Dragosavac immediately asked to address the session, saying that the Central Committee should today primarily consider the situation in the country, the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and of the Central Committees of the republics and provinces. In his assessment it would be much better not to carry out the cadre renewal of the Central Committee today, since the preparations for this task had not been conducted in the same fashion in each environment—in some of them they were exercised through a secret ballot and multiple candidate lists, and in others this was not the case. In this context he noted that it is essential for the socialist system to take democratic achievements into account.

Dragosavac also objected to the stepped-up security around the Assembly building. This should not be done. Belgrade should provide us with enough security without the police reinforcements.

Unless it is under consideration as a separate item on the agenda, that is in the context of the first item—election of the members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina—the Vojvodina LC would be inadequately represented in the work of this session, Nedeljko Sipovac stressed. We demand that those members of the Central Committee whom the extraordinary conference denied all legitimate rights for further participation in the work of the LCY Central Committee be dismissed. All except one have already resigned, Sipovac said.

After voting on the Presidium proposal it was agreed that, within the framework of the first item on the agenda, a stand should be taken and conclusion specified on the demand by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC for an extraordinary congress of the LCY.

Milovan Popovic questioned the legitimacy of the Central Committee, as a great number of its members have either resigned or have been dismissed or relieved of their duties. He also questioned the legitimacy of the Presidium because, as he said, almost half of its members have already gone or are to go today. Major issues of the party and the country cannot be discussed with such incomplete composition, Popovic said. Hence he proposed that cadre issues be discussed first.

Stefan Korosec, chairing today's session, replied that the Central Committee and its Presidium can operate normally because 18 of its 23 members are still working. He also did not accept Popovic's questioning of the Central Committee's legitimacy because 130 of the 165 members—which is more than two-thirds, as he said—are performing their duties normally.

Nikola Jovanovic also questioned the participation in the work of this session by those members who have lost the support of their grassroot organizations.

Following the debate a changed and amended agenda proposed by the LCY Central Committee was adopted with five votes against.

Before it began work on the agenda the LCY Central Committee adopted resignations by seven members of the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC, by Radovan Vlajkovic in line with the need to separate party and state functions, and by Dragana Labus Kemen for personal and family reasons.

Five members of the LCY Central Committee from Vojvodina—Ladislav Darabos, Vukasin Loncar, Nandor Major, Borisav Odadzic, and Matija Vasovic—were denied confidence to continue as members of the LCY Central Committee at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC. All resignations from membership in the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC were unanimously accepted.

With the adoption of these resignations, eight posts were vacated in the LCY Central Committee to be filled by members from Vojvodina. The Vojvodina LC has proposed a list of nine candidates, that is as new members of the LCY Central Committee from this province, eight of whom should be elected members of the LCY Central Committee today. [transmission interrupted; TANJUG part six not received] [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia today is under a serious threat from a powerful growth of nationalism and its divisions, and even hatred and a return to the old folklore of Balkanization, said Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium. The LC must not remain just a mute observer of the destruction of the country's unity. We have no right to allow it, and especially not to assume political, moral, and historical responsibility in order for the LC to be turned into an open stage for the dominance of national bureaucracies and policracies, regardless of the ideological or political mask behind which it is concealed, and such attempts have obviously been made. It must be clear to everyone that the struggle for Yugoslavia cannot be won by political games and even less by the old-fashioned dilemma of bourgeois democracy or state socialism.

Separatism with a confederative system and historically outdated centralism and unitarism are on offer increasingly, Lazaroski said. In essence, it is a matter of nationalist concepts. [passage omitted]

The roots of disagreements lie deep in the country's socioeconomic system, and it is no secret that numerous decisions at the level of the federation were made at the level of "balance of forces." These problems must be solved by the reform of the economic and political system, Lazaroski maintains. [passage omitted]

Lazaroski proposed that the LC instruct the LCY Central Committee Presidium to immediately embark on the preparation of the ideopolitical platform for the involvement of the LC in changes in the political system. "If some are responsible for the making of the crisis, we are responsible for blocking the solutions which offer a way out," Lazaroski stressed. [passage omitted]

Recalling that the events in Montenegro have recently been the focus of the Yugoslav public's attention, Veselin Vukotic, this republic's coordinator in the LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that in fact there is a clash between collective awareness and reality. A historic crossroads has been created that is a great opportunity for the LC to restore the people's trust in it. There have been numerous analyses to date on what happened in Montenegro, even wrong ones such as the one last October, but it ought to be said that what did happen is only the tip of the iceberg. [passage omitted]

Rahman Morina, newly elected president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, noted that apart from numerous conclusions and adopted programs, the political and security situation in Kosovo is still very difficult even today. It is even worse than in 1981. The brunt of responsibility is, of course, borne by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, Morina said, and we have the least right to blame anyone.

I do not want to question all that has been achieved to date, Morina stressed, but today we must counter crude and uncomfortable facts. Even after the 17th LCY Central Committee session and other party gatherings none of the expected results has been achieved; things have even deteriorated. The national homogenization has reached inconceivable proportions, resulting in a climate of total mistrust and even of hatred.

The months of expectations and the impression that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is working under pressure from the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee contribute, in Rahman Morina's opinion, to further deterioration in human and interethnic relations. Stressing that the cadre renewal and the establishment of responsibility of LC members and those who are in organs of authority are the prime tasks, Morina reiterated that unless the existing situation and relations are changed, the Kosovo LC will collapse. To this effect he stressed that the cadre assistance from other parts of Yugoslavia has yielded good results. Rahman Morina also noted the problem of the young people, saying that the Kosovo LC cannot allow the young people to become victims of anti-Yugoslav propaganda. We will not achieve this objective by ideological promises about a better life and the future, but rather by the youth's specific involvement in social processes.

Rahman Morina drew particular attention to disunity among the party leadership, stressing that practice has shown that we find it much easier to quarrel than to build unity. In Kosovo, he noted, the doors are wide open for anyone from anywhere in Yugoslavia who wants to come and help us.

Last year was marked by an avalanche of dissatisfaction and justified potentially explosive anger because of the erroneous policy that has long been pursued in Vojvodina.

Policy and practice were based on the bureaucratic separation of the leaderships from the working class and people. The harmful consequences were of major importance not only for Vojvodina but also for the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

At the beginning of last October a radical break with this policy began after the mass expression of dissatisfaction in the streets of Novi Sad and throughout Vojvodina, and the processes of settling the political crisis in the province were opened up. The struggle began for the democratization of overall relations in the province and for the reformed character of the LC. In the process of cadre consolidation in the Vojvodina LC, radical cadre renewal was carried out; however, Sipovac stressed, it was not a purge or destructive but, to be precise, it served the creation of conditions for the establishment of democratic reations and an orientation toward reform in the Vojvodina LC and in the province.

The reform of the economic and political system, the renewal, in other words the transformation of the Vojvodina LC in terms of its points of departure, ideas, and aims of a Yugoslav character, and the struggle for a decisive turnaround toward a lasting stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, are key and complementary priorities of the action of the Vojvodina LC today, and they were unanimously accepted and established at the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference, Sipovac stressed, adding that the democratic spirit expressed at the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference is without precedent in the more recent history of the LCY.

The victory of the antibureaucratic revolution in Montenegro, the unmasking of the Bosnia-Hercegovina bureaucracy in connection with the Agrokomerc affair, the Neum affair, and many other abuses—all these, in the assessment of Sipovac, opened up, after the turnaround in the SR of Serbia in fall 1987, new scope for the democratization of our society, and this proved to be very fruitful at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC.

The coalition of national bureaucracies at the level of the republics and provinces and at the level of the federation experienced a great blow, Sipovac declared. The national bureaucracies, after abandoning the economic reforms of 1965, applied the principle of "divide and rule," destroying Yugoslavia as a federation and turning it more into a weak confederation. Through their national economies they smashed the unified Yugoslav market, and this led to the complete domination of nation over class. In this way the so-called national economy assumed a fine excuse for its complete domination over economic as well as noneconomic affairs.

The nationalist and separatist tendencies reached their climax in Kosovo, where Albanianization was carried out for the purpose of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo. The economic crisis revealed its increasingly great proportions through galloping inflation, and the federal leadership displayed its complete impotence in curbing inflation.

The tragedy of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and the legal impossibility of the SR of Serbia preventing the genocide of Albanian nationalists on part of its own territory led to mass solidarity meetings throughout Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina, and these put pressure on the federal organs to carry out their obligations set out in the Constitution and the law, Sipovac added.

Under this pressure from dissatisfied people who were unable to act through the alienated institutions of the system, things went so far that the federal coalition of national bureaucracies, frightened of the people and the protests by workers in front of the Yugoslav Assembly, began to apply the principle of divide and rule so as to continue to maintain themselves in power. The fact that the 1974 SFRY Constitution divided the SR of Serbia into three parts and turned it into a constitutional lame duck was bound to have an impact on the mass dissatisfaction of the Serbian [word indistinct] because of the inequality of their republic in relation to the republics of other of our nations. The unwillingness of the Yugoslav political and state leadership to curb the counterrevolution in Kosovo poured oil onto the fire of the dissatisfaction of the Serbian and Montenegrin people. Instead of acting to contain the overall crisis threatening Yugoslavia and its reputation in the world, the Yugoslav party leadership contributed, through its inefficient and inadequate activities, to its further intensification. This had a decisive impact on making the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC request the holding of an extraordinary congress and the replacement of Stipe Suvar in his post as president of the LYC Central Committee Presidium, Sipovac stressed. Everything which was asked, he added, is requested to be done in a democratic way on the bases of the statute of the LCY. This completely justified demand was followed by extremely tendentious and utterly false portrayals of the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference, Sipovac observed.

Assessing that the outcry about putsches in Novi Sad and Titograd conducted from Belgrade, and tales of neo-Stalinism and all kinds of other lies, are part of the arsenal of the dirtiest methods used by individual national bureaucracies so as to halt the process of democratization in our country and the arrival of competent young reform-minded cadres—as if it is not clear to them that the Montenegrin and Vojvodina people removed their own bureaucratic leaderships by themselves. [sentence as received]

The solution for the crisis must be sought in the creation of an economic system in which everyone will live by his work; in other words, the development of a political democracy which must follow the affirmation of the market method of doing business is the only way for us to become a politically responsible society.

The heralded reform of the LCY should facilitate full democratization in this organization and prevent any possibility of it being a mere means of maintaining in power specific groups alienated from the party leadership and the people.

If we want to be the leadership of the people and not an alienated center of political power, we must place the interests of the peoples and interests of Yugoslavia above our own interests. If we do not do this, the people will not forgive us, and they are sovereign above any authorities in this country.

After Nedeljko Sipovac's speech, the chairman of the electoral commission, Ljubomir Varoslija, announced the results of the vote for new LCY Central Committee members from the Vojvodina LC. Of the 152 members of the LCY Central Committee, 146 voted; 10 votes were invalid. There were nine candidates for the election of eight members of the LCY Central Committee.

Sinisa Batalo received 123 votes, Janos Domokos 127, Streten Djuric 114, Aleksandar Bakocevic 115, Biljana Mitrovic 124, Radovan Pankov 96, Stanko Radmilovic 100, Djordje Scepancevic 67, and Dragutin Zelenovic 90. Djordje Scepancevic was not elected. [passage omitted]

We have been talking constantly about a danger of others dividing us, said Branko Mikulic, and now we must state that we members of the LC organs have also fostered these divisions.

We must ask ourselves: Where is Yugoslavia going, what is its future, and what is our responsibility for this? If numerous negative processes which are under way continue, can we survive together; how will we go on together; and which new principles and relations should be established, if these AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] ones are no longer valid? He said: I advocate the public unmasking of every screenplay and every director working for their destruction. [passage omitted]

At this session it is also our duty, without beating around the bush, to note that the redefining of numerous key issues is current in Yugoslavia. Some of it has been objectively caused by the eruption of the crisis, but a lot of it has been encouraged consciously and in an orchestrated fashion, which only deepens the crisis. These tendencies, in Mikulic's opinion, are not equally acute everywhere at the moment, but all the events in Yugoslavia have a cause- and-effect relation. It is only a matter of days until the unfavorable trends from one will "pour" into another environment and vice versa. [passage omitted]

The key to the solution of "our drama" is the creation of conditions for the success of reforms. For this reason, it should be said publicly who the opponents of the true reintegration of the Yugoslav economy and society and these reform undertakings are, and which forces ought to and can carry the reform on their shoulders. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Mikulic proposed that at this plenum the LCY Central Committee should adopt a short document in which the platform of the unity and action of the LCY is formulated concisely.

At this session, Mikulic thinks, the LCY Central Committee should announce that it will resolutely oppose every attempt to break the unity of Yugoslavia; threaten its territorial integrity, brotherhood, and unity; and create divisions on a national basis. [passage omitted]

Finally, Mikulic said: I support the orientation and unification of Communists in line with their programs and not according to personalities. [passage omitted]

The LCY Central Committee must not allow the country to become divided; it is responsible for the widening gap between the leaderships, said Milica Pejanovic. She asked the LCY Central Committee Presidium to state whether it encoutered obstacles in its work and of what kind. It is also necessary to establish on the basis of credible facts what the role of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president was in making decisions on the use of force in Montenegro.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium must also bear responsibility for inadequate assessments of the situation in Montenegro, said Miica Pejanovic. [passage omitted] The atmosphere created over this session, Dobrivoje Vidic declared, makes one believe we are facing the disintegration of the LCY and the SFRY. It is patently obvious that this is not under consideration at all. After all, he said, this country's workers—the nations, nationalities, and organized socialist forces—want to live together in this state and in this federal socialist community of Yugoslavia. No one has the right to undermine and destroy it.

It is not true, Vidic said, that we still do not know how to resolve the causes of this crisis. Nevertheless, why are we failing when we know the main answers? We should discuss this in a rational way. Only those who are not intent on a real debate, and still less on solutions which we now need, will introduce an element of bickering into this discussion. [passage omitted]

Of course, greater Serbian nationalism and hegemonism do exist, Vidic declared, but this is a defeated policy and a defeated world. The Serbian people themselves in all parts of our country have made a huge contribution to defeating these forces. There is no sense whatsoever in attributing in an inappropriate, iniquitous, subjective, andd untenable way to the Serbian LC the temporary and truly individual expressions of greater Serbian nationalism on the public scene, which are to be utterly condemned. [passage omitted]

The multiparty system is being introduced through the back door in part of the SFRY, and this is not being considered on either the Yugoslav level or by this Central Committee.

Misconceptions about the Serbian LC being, so to speak, the epicenter of an emergency situation and that some kind of imaginary putsch could be carried out, thus introducing Serbian hegemonism and a Stalinist system or forming a third Yugoslavia, are a real danger to civil peace in our country, Vidic stressed. The Central Committee should take full note of this today and not do anything to help these unfounded accusations divide our peoples, veterans, and young people. Vidic said he believes the LCY Central Committee should accept the demands that an extraordinary congress of the LCY be convened as soon as possible. The LCY Central Committee must be conscious of its mistakes and failings, while the question of the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president should be considered on the bases of the existing statutory provisions, Vidic concluded. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee and its Presidium are not in a position to secure the implementation of the policy and of the positions on the key issues because of the differences on the essential questions of our development. This is no longer a reflection of their ineptness or lack of knowledge alone. Objectively speaking, they are prisoners of individual, group, regional, and national ambitions and assorted concepts and interests which we have not managed to overcome, stressed Marko Orlandic.

For this reason, he added, we are less and less capable of holding an in-depth discussion and especially of conducting efficient democratic and political action. The result is that developments are taking place which cause every one of us anxiety and which bring fear to the members of our party of workers, young people, and citizens. These developments raise the question: Where is all this leading and what sort of relations is one trying to introduce into the LCY and SFRY? [passage omitted]

There is no longer any scope for constantly shifting responsibility from one person to another, or for constantly shifting it to someone else. If we do not have a united Kosovo LC it is no longer possible to count on creating a united front. Who is going to establish, encourage, and guide it, wondered Orlandic. Neither we nor the leadership of the LC of Serbia have replied to the frequent demands for the disbandment of the Kosovo LC and where this is all leading, nor have we drawn up a joint stand on this, although the position is quite clear. These issues must not be left without an answer; action must not be put off any longer. It is high time single tactics and single Yugoslav political action on the platform of the ninth LCY session be secured to bring about a substantial and accelerated change of the situation in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

If the wise Vladika Petar I [a prince of independent Montenegro] were by some chance in a position to address us he could, with a calm conscience, ask us: Yugoslav Communists, do you know where your country is going and you with it, and why are you doing something which no intelligent person in this world is still doing? Unfortunately, he would have had an abundance of reasons to pose that question. Along with this illustrative remark, Dr Radovan Radonjic remarked that we have created constitutional and political obstacles such that do not allow us to resolve any controversial question or problem in a regular fashion, as an organized society. He believes the quest for so-called quick solutions, through extra-constitutional channels and the like, in which everything is done in the name of progress and a radical settling of scores with the old practice and its protagonists, has, in addition to the would-be positive consequences, many negative consequences.

The burst of energy and the justified dissatisfaction of the masses are by and large channeled into the overthrow or maintenance of the "old structures," while virtually no thought is given to the development of new relations and, generally speaking, to establishing something which is better and more progressive.

Less and less is said of the genuine problems that drove the workers outside their factory shops, and the general attention of our people is increasingly directed toward individual excesses, statements, or assessments by the people from the other side and the like. The phrase heard now and again—that the LC has always won and that it will do it again this time—is poor consolation for all this. [passage omitted]

We have surrendered the initiative to others who are adding up the points on the criticism of our ignorgance, ineptness, and powerlessness, while from the platforms, panic-stricken as we are, we are shouting out to them that we should not surrender the power to anyone. We have replaced the dialogue and a well-argued discussion on the outstanding issues and problems that we should resolve through direct confrontation and conflicts. We have virtually destroyed the foundations on which Socialist Yugoslavia was created and on which it exists with open confrontations and deep-seated disagreements. The disagreements between the republican and provincial leaderships which have become inflamed to the point of madness and which have not bypassed us here either, and the intranational divisions which have been carried out virtually to a point of no return, have resulted in Yugoslavia hanging literally by a thread. These divisions have been translated to party leadership, to the war veterans organization, to workers, to young people, and in some parts of the country have gone so far that the revived specters of the past dictate the talking with a rifle butt. [passage omitted]

Radonjic believes that a long time ago the LCY Central Committee was reduced to a position of a consultative and coordination body of a lower rank and with an influence that is much less than that with which our party clashed 40 years ago. The right of individual leaderships to accept the decisions of the LCY Central Committee only when they want to do so has to all intents and purposes been legalized. Let us abandon the squabbles, recriminations, and divisions and let us do what we can, what is expected of us and wanted by those who still believe in us, appealed Radonjic. Only in this way can we restore our reputation and influence and prove that we are still necessary and that we are capable of continuing—of course in other forms and providing new substance to—the revolution which we started and into which we led millions with great hopes and promsies. Unless we embark along this road today, the talk about the next congress could be quite pointless. In that case it could well be that the 13th congress will have been the last congress of this organization.

The battle for the reform cannot be won without a radical renewal of the LC, stressed Nerandza Jovanov. [passage omitted] Speaking of the nonimplementation of the stands of the LCY Central Committee 17th session, Nerandaz Jovanov stressed that she sees the causes of the deteriorating situation in Kosovo in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. Its leadership did not find it opportune to explain to its membership the substance of the changes in the Serbian Constitution even after the clear stand of the LCY Central Committee Presidium had been provided. They waited for a long time for the assessment—more correctly, preconceived assessment—of the November rallies in Kosovo. National division in Kosovo is expanding and, instead of unity, quarrels are imposed. Parties and passions are inflamed, just as at some matches, remarked Nerandaz Jovanov.

The mistakes in implementing the LC tasks adopted at the 17th and 19th LCY Central Committee sessions have worsened the political situation in the country, and yet we enjoy the broad support of the working class throughout Yugoslavia. We refuse to admit, however, that the people who are putting the brakes on and the opportunists are sitting among us, stressed Milka Kikovic.

I do not favor a utopian solution of the problems, especially as far as the LC is concerned. However, the Communists and LC basic organizations and organs at all levels of our organization have said clearly that the Central Committee must part company with those members of this organ who differ a great deal from the working class in their perception of the gravity of the country's situation, Milka Kikovic believes. It is becoming increasingly clear whose egotistic interests have for years been obdurately resisting any changes at all, even these other problems which can jeopardize the survival of our community if solutions are not found.

It is not true to say that dissatisfaction, strikes, and growing social problems have placed a question mark against the systemic commitment to the further development of socialist self-management relations. I think the workers in my factory in Belgrade and others throughout our country are proving this point daily with their work, patience and efforts to pull out of the crisis as soon as possible.

I am indignant, stressed Milka Kikovic, over the fact that no scruples are shown in discrediting and trying to denigrate the people who favor changes and who favor unity of the country. I think Serbia is in such a position at the moment. Recently there has been a flood of assessments that working people are manipulated as if they did not know what their position is and as if they did not understand the actual essential causes of our crisis. My colleagues who are Muslim, Slovene, and Macedonian women and women of other nationalities—who do not ask one another of whose nation or nationality they are members—comment with disbelief, amazement, and derision about the concoctions that they are manipulated by the nationalists and that some sort of national homogenization is taking place in Serbia. [passage omitted]

The workers want vigorous and decisive changes. This is why they demand the resignations of those who have shown themselves incapable of carrying them out. This lack of readiness is obvious and cannot be covered up by demagogically frightening the people of Serbia, its people, and working class. The Belgrade party leadership has expressed a massive demand for a special LCY congress precisely because it believes that only the LC, but not the same leadership, can pull us out of the crisis. They had enough of advice, information, imprecise stands, and censure. [passage omitted]

In connection with the assessment made in Suvar's report that the accusations in connection with the unprincipled coalition are untrue, Milka Kikovic expressed regret that Suvar did not say this immediately at the 17th session which he chaired instead of saying it now, after a lapse of 3 months, because it is such things which confuse the LC membership.

Lambe Jovanovski asked for an end to be put to the squabbles because, in essence, no one wants to quarrel. It will destroy what we have created. We must not allow this society to be divided by little groups and idlers, and to do that a thorough cadre renewal is required. We have come into a situation where we add up the mistakes of the others whereas we ourselves do precious little. For this reason, we must keep good workers on the political and public scene and prove that one can live by working too, said Jovanovski. [passage omitted]

Thousands of workers in our country are concerned, and even frightened, for its future, warned Marica Petrovic. She added that their message to the Central Committee is that they should put an end to quarrels and divisions. Those who think they will manage to get the workers to quarrel with one another are badly mistaken. [passage omitted]

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed Marica Petrovic, will have to change its method of work and put an end to compromises and confrontations. At this plenum an answer must be given to the question of who in the Presidium and in the Central Committee is responsible and to what extent they are responsible. The Central Committee has to listen to the voice of the membership and the awakened feelings of the people, she said, serving the warning that otherwise a catastrophe will occur in the LCY and in the country, and "then future generations will pass their judgment on us." [passage omitted]

The time of political monism is gone forever, stated Borut Suklje. He said there are now two views of political pluralism. The first one envisages a multiparty system and is fully legitimate because such a system is not at odds with socialism. The second seeks to set up an alternative to the existing political environment. Suklje spoke in favor of a socialism that is essentially defined by the market, a pluralism of the forums of ownership, a state with the rule of law, democracy, self-management, and a federally constituted Yugoslavia. In his opinion the LCY should make a creative synthesis which would simultaneously be the platform for the congress. He is against an extraordinary congress, but supports an early one.

Stanko Radmilovic, the newly elected member of the LCY Central Committee, said that the demand by Vojvodina's Communists for an extraordinary LCY congress implies an extraordinary situation. "And, it is extraordinary indeed. It is not only a deep economic crisis and the unresolved problems of Kosovo which make it extraordinary, but also a culmination of political confrontations. Hence, I believe the LCY has never been in a more complex situation. This is why the Vojvodina Communists maintain that an extraordinary congress is necessary."

Radmilovic stressed that the demands made by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC should not be perceived as a confrontation with the Croat or any other people. The people of Vojvodina, he remarked, have destroyed all the artificial barriers toward Serbia, not with the intention of erecting them upstream along the Danube or anywhere else in Yugoslavia. The changes in the Vojvodina LC have caused nervousness and anxiety in some parts of Yugoslavia over the AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia, as if somebody is suggesting its refashioning and tearing apart of Yugoslavia, Radmilovic said. The Communists and people of Vojvodina, he stressed, however, do not share this opinion, unless refashioning refers to the correction of the illogical aspects of the 1974 Constitution. [passage omitted]

Noting the existence of different opinions about the concept of the federation, Radmilovic said that they are among the most controversial issues in the second stage of the changes to the Constitution. "A satisfactory solution will not be found unless the opinions in the LC are brought closer together. Nobody in his right mind will deny the fact that in the AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia federal units have the right to arrange their relations in such a way that nothing of essential importance can possibly be imposed on any of them. But it should be known that employing the same elementary logic, it means that nothing—including the model of democratization about which Comrade Kucan spoke—can be shaped to suit the interests and views of one federal unit alone." [passage omitted]

Despite all the efforts made by the LCY Central Committee, Radisa Gacic said that at a 17 November Kosovo Provincial Committee session, a division along national lines occurred. It was marked by a pronounced defense of and support for the very individuals who should have assumed responsibility for the overall unsatisfactory activity in implementing the LCY Central Committee 17th session stands on Kosovo.

The intolerably irresponsible preparations for the provincial committee session—opportunism and unwillingness to establish individual responsibility on the one hand, and the explicit request by the organs of the Serbian LC and the LCY for full implementation of the tasks from the 17th session on the other, have created the impression among the Kosovo public that the leaders of the Kosovo LC and individuals, particularly the cadres of Albanian nationality, were under pressure to resign. This was aggravated, Gacic said, by evident disagreements and differencies in the LCY Central Committee Presidium as to the extent of the cadre changes at that moment. In such a situation, he assessed, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium began to lose the initiative to the forces of Albanian nationalism and separatism. The impression of allegedly unprincipled pressures on the cadres of Albanian nationality to establish their own responsibility was used as a pretext for mass protest gatherings and demonstrations by the citizens of Albanian nationality, which started while the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session was actually in progress. [passage omitted]

Gacic said that it turned out to be a mistake that there was no joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium after the 17th session or at least after the November rallies and demonstrations. In this way we could have reached a united assessment by which everybody would have to abide and which would have prevented the provincial committee and its presidium from postponing their own duties. It would also have prevented different assessments of the events and the possibility of exploiting existing differences to avoid further action. The state organs at all levels have not provided comprehensive and precise data about the organizers of the gatherings and demonstrations. Different interpretations of their findings have caused discontent among the general public, while the absence of results provided the organs of the Kosovo LC with a pretext for more delays in fulfilling their own political duties. This, however, cannot be an excuse for intolerably slow activity and opportunistic conduct.

This work style raises the following questions, Gacic maintains: Should the LCY Central Committee Presidium be satisfied with warnings, criticism, and the constant making of new assessments and stances which remain unrealized; can the LCY Central Committee remain uninvolved?

In my personal view, Gacic said, the Central Committee should act more resolutely in all these cases and should consistently apply the statute and even change it if it is the cause of its powerlessness. In overcoming numerous weaknesses in the province, it is necessary to act uncompromisingly and promptly, even at the expense of disbanding certain basic LC organizations and certain municipal LC organizations in Kosovo, where the situation is most difficult.

At the 17th session during the discussion on the confidence in the Presidium members, I, so to speak, lifted a finger which subsequently in some quarters was misinterpreted as a warning to Serbian Communists. However, if on that occasion I raised my finger, today, after everything that has been happening since the 17th session, I should really raise my fist, said Vinko Hafner. However, that would not be a communist form of greeting, or a workers greeting, or a threat to some comrades. It would be only a warning to us all, suggesting that obviously we have not yet fully grasped the gravity of our present social crisis and its possible tragic consequences.

Furthermore, we are much too concerned with ourselves, instead of using all our forces successfully to overcome the unpleasant economic and political events in the country. This is proved by our present sniping over Comrade Suvar's responsibility and the demands for his resignation, added Hafner.

After the 13th session, Hafner continued, I had talks with the then President Bosko Krunic about the election of a president, and I explained to him my reservations about both candidates from the SR of Croatia—Racan and Suvar. In so doing, I did not deny either of them their ideopolitical, moral, and work qualities as Presidium members. Nonetheless, the Croat Central Committee put them forward as their candidates and the Presidium subsequently elected Suvar as its president.

After that, I thought he had to be given full confidence and assistance to enable him to successfully carry out this very responsible duty. Now this confidence is denied him and his resignation is demanded. Let us think well on whether this is fair and useful for us all, said Hafner.

I am not Suvar's man and I do not like some of his personal mannerisms, for which he should accept justified criticism. I always thought highly of Suvar and I think highly of him now as a good Communist and fighter for self- management socialism, as a very educated Marxist, and as a Marxist committed to Yugoslavia and to Tito's ideas. He proved himself to be that with his subsequent activity and also as a Presidium member and president. He proved this with his report at our ideological plenary meeting, and also at our 17th session, when we voted to express confidence in him. How is it possible then that this very same Stipe Suvar is now the target of such fierce criticism from individual party environments, specifically from Serbia, Vojvodina, and to some extent also Montenegro? He is criticized mainly for his somewhat differing views or differently interpreted statements on intranational relations and protest meetings of the citizens, especially those in Novi Sad and Titograd. However, Hafner added, you know full well that from the very beginning there have been considerable differences among us in assessing solidarity or protest meetings. They still range between two unacceptable extremes.

It is a fact that the differences in our views of these meetings will continue, up to a point because of the different de facto situation in individual parts of the country and the LC. It would be useful if the session today could make these views converge as much as possible and help if we could decide on them as much as possible. There is no doubt that these meetings are a most radical form of the justified protest of the people, and especially of young people, and of that segment of the working class which has been hardest hit by the present crisis, and which as a result of the weakened self-management has in many respects been placed in a position of being hired labor. As a result, these workers—by staging such and other public protests—cannot lose a great deal, at least on a short-term basis, and can mainly gain. This is why these workers, these people, even when they go beyond the regular form of resolving our acute social contradictions, can never be branded as a street mob, according to Hafner.

My views on the real rebels and organizers of the protest meetings of the people are somewhat different. No doubt there are among them many honest and progressive people and Communists who did everything to resolve some important economic, political, and cadre problems through normal channels. They did not manage to do that so they have now resorted to such initiatives.

However, the initiators of these meetings who previously did nothing but are now taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people in the crudest possible way to settle their political and personal scores with responsible individuals and organs, or even for purely retrograde political objectives, must be resolutely denounced. These organizers, both the former and the latter, are promising the dissatisfied people that by replacing the discredited leaderships acute social problems will soon be resolved, although it is common knowledge that that is impossible.

Let us not go on being divided on the pricipled commitments regarding these meetings; let us work resolutely to gradually remove those real economic and political reasons the people are being driven into the streets, stressed Hafner.

Let us stop it, let us not snipe at each other behind our backs when we know that there are a great many specialized opponents around to do that. In that sense let us talk with as few personal and other handicaps as possible about the demands for Comrade Suvar's replacement or resignation. To those who want to insist on that I would like to address the following questions:

Should not we, before deciding about Comrade Suvar's replacement or resignation, also hear what his, that is the Croat, party base has to say about that, not unlike what at the 17th session Comrade Milosevic proposed to be done before deciding about Comrade Ckrebic's resignation?

Second, in case Comrade Suvar receives a modest majority vote of no confidence, or his resignation is accepted, will not that act again be interpreted as a victory for some unprincipled coalition, which is the way Comrade Tupurkovski interpreted the result of the vote of confidence in our Presidium members during the 17th session? On that occasion he did not explain why such coalitions are formed and who actually forms them, said Hafner. [passage omitted]

After the discussion, which continued throughout the day and in which 25 Central Committee members took part, the first day of the 20th party plenum session ended at about 2100 hours. The continuation of the discussion on the political situation in the country, relations within the LC, work and the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and of its Presidium, is set for 0803 [as received] hours tomorrow. There are still 27 members of this highest party forum on the list of people who have intimated their intention to take part in the discussion.

Mutapcic Addresses Plenum

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[Speech by Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] For a considerable time, we have been repeating the assessments about a worsened economic and political situation and the seriously undermined relations in the entire country, about disunity in the LCY, about an escalation of various anti-self-managing and antisocialist forces, the waxing offensive of nationalism embracing the very LC, about the social dissatisfaction that is more and more massive, causing a collapse of the economic situation in some fields where it is already difficult, and a blockade of the self-managing production relationship and of the political system based on the latter.

As never before in history since the war, conflicts are present among the several leaderships, and even within the leaderships. We have almost exhausted all the words about Kosovo, and we have exhausted ourselves describing the difficult situation, but it is a fact that the situation in that province continues to deteriorate.

The roots of the counterrevolution have not even come close to being cut. National divisions continue to deepen, the actions of the LC and of other subjective forces have been shown to be impotent, nationalisms of all colors and directions are escalating further, and the like. This imposes a great burden not only on relations in this province and the SR of Serbia, but also in Yugoslavia in general. It is our paramount task to persist on the realization of the LC stances, to intensify our activities, and to insist on responsibility in intensifying them so that we may, by carrying out the obligations we have undertaken, contribute to the implementation of the Yugoslav program and the solving of the exceptionally difficult situation in Kosovo, and win victory over the counterrevolution as soon as possible.

The development of the recent events dramatically warns us that the deepening of disunity in the LCY because of differences in assessing major problems, because of differences between the leaderships of the several republics and provinces, and because the practice of imposing one's own views as the only correct and the only possible in the county, threatens disunity in this Central Committee, and this means in the LCY.

The Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina draws attention to this danger and believes that in such a situation, the LCY Central Committee and every single member of it must make a maximum effort so that, fully aware of the historical responsibility that he bears both to our revolution and to the future of the country, we will break up the blockage in the work of the LC, clearing up, in a principled and democratic way, all the problems that lead to it.

In this way all the obstacles must be removed, so as to enable the LC to begin to realize and materialize the programs of social reforms so that the country may get out of the crisis. We believe that there are no problems that would justify a polarization for and against, as is now emerging, and any division made on this basis, and especially a division in the LCY on a national basis.

Nobody who thinks rationally now has the right to initiate or to stand behind such steps that lead to a national homogenization, separatism, or visions on a national basis. The questions that we are facing do not allow that the actually existing differences be covered up through clever formulations. These differences and their real causes must be discussed with full awareness and responsibility of the Central Committee, its Presidium, and every individual in these bodies, for the situation in the country, a responsibility to the members, the workers class, and the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

However, we must also openly discuss here the means of the political struggle, for when one reads the stances published on sessions of the central committees or their presidiums before this LCY Central Committee session, one may conclude that there are hardly any differences about the fundamentals, but that differences appear in the views on the methods and the political instruments that are applied or that are advocated by individual leaderships for the implementation of these aims.

These differences have reached such proportions that one may speak about the existence of two or even more concepts within the LCY on the further development of socialism under our conditions and the implementation of the LC role. Without a proper, open, and well-argued discussion on these differences, in which we would express our opinion and, if need be, differ in a democratic manner, without a scientific or any other valid evaluation of the views or concepts in all the parts of the unified LCY, and especially in this Central Committee, one causes the broadest politicization of the members as well as the people on these concepts and on their implementation without, one may say, an actual desire in the interest or unity and togetherness to assess how much this contributes to the strengthening of the country in general.

This is an unacceptable practice in which this Central Committee and its Presidium, and not only they, have lost their autonomy and are incessantly called to account for the way they are solving or failing to solve the most important questions in the country, and at the same time almost everybody is behaving in a way which reduces the autonomy of their decisionmaking. As a result, an extremely unfavorable atmosphere has been and is being created recently, whereby even the decisions of this body, such as the one on who will perform various functions in it or who will be the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, are being prejudged.

We oppose this fervently. We do not speak in favor of one individual or another. We speak in favor of LCY unity which will be built but also defended in a democratic and a statutory way by preserving the autonomy, authority, legitimacy, and legality of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. We speak in favor of its autonomy, but also of its responsibility when assuming all these functions which belong to it.

We do not accept the legalization of the method of campaigning in the LCY as a replacement for democratic and well-argued dialogue among comrades, and we do not accept the method of the unfounded elimination of people. We do not reject the debate on the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium or its president. However, we demand that that debate be well-argued, democratic, and that it serve the strengthening of unity, not only in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, but also in the LCY and in the country. If the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium or of its president is established in such a democratic way, then we support any punishment for them that would be appropriate to the degree of responsibility established in this way. However, we reject most energetically any unfounded assessments of the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium or of its president. An attempt to introduce such methods is dangerous to relations in the LCY in general and to the authority of the LC leadership as a whole.

We stand on the position that one cannot discuss the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium without touching on the responsibility of the republican and provincial LC leaderships. Can only the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, or its president be taken to account for the fact that direct tasks established at the 17th Central Committee session are not realized? If we are to discuss that responsibility—and that simply cannot be avoided in this situation—then we should also open a well-argued debate on what has been done by both the LCY Central Committee and the republican and provincial LC organizations. Such a debate can no longer be postponed for the simple reason that it has been opened at all other places save for the correct one, that is, this Central Committee.

Comrades, what I want to convey to you is the profound feeling of Communists and working people in Bosnia-Hercegovina which fully came to the fore at the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, at which we discussed the political situation in the republic and in the country shortly before this LCY Central Committee session. This feeling can be summed up in three words: fear of divisions. It is clear to every Communist, working man, and citizen in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, no matter to which people or nationality he belongs, that there are already divisions on a national basis in Yugoslavia and that these divisions also affect the stability of interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It should be clear to everybody in this country that if the LC fails to stop the incipient processes of national homogenization and divisions on a national basis with its resolute action, then the Yugoslavia as established by the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] will be called into question. Without Yugoslavia as such there will be no Bosnia-Hercegovina. The peoples and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the working class of the republic and, therefore, its LC, have no other alternative but to fight for the unity of the LCY and of the country, because it is only in this way that they will successfully fight for the identity of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a community of equal, fraternal peoples and nationalities who are not quarreling in any way.

We are firm and united in this position, but we are also realistic in drawing the political assessment that if it comes to the deepening of the divisions in the LCY, it is inevitable that divisions on a national basis will also occur in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and in (?the LC).

If it comes to a destabilization of interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to divisions on this basis, there is no stability in Yugoslavia, either.

Aware of this political fact which is of fateful importance for us in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we will not allow anybody to fan national passions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, or to draw any lines of division, and especially not those that would divide people. Now, as never before, there is a need for uniting all progressive socialist forces and their joint action. In brief, in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee we believe that we can overcome the divisions only if we invest all our forces in the realization of the strategy of social reforms that we endorsed at the LCY conference, for a further democratization of the relations both in the LC and in society in general, for the strengthening of the workers class power and for the affirmation of the workers class essence of the LC policy, for a further strengthening of equality of all our peoples and nationalities, for brotherhood and unity, and for a free federal and nonaligned Yugoslavia.

This is the platform for our way out of the crisis. I will say nothing new, but I will nevertheless stress that it is expected that the LCY Central Committee offer solutions and directions of activities along these lines at this session.

We must certainly not allow implementation of the economic reform to be slowed or postponed. It must be started, and all the necessary conditions must be ensured so that it will be realized consistently on the entire front. One must work on strengthening the front of the reform forces and mobilizing people on all the key problems of the way out of the economic crisis. At the time of the most serious preparations and discussions of the foundations on which the LCY should be reformed—so that it may be capable to overcome its own crisis first and then lead the country out of the crisis—various political options are being offered that essentially have no connection with our urgent need.

In this respect the most viable options are those arising from a political platform of the bourgeois liberal kind, or the restoration of bourgeois relations on the foundations of West European democracy. The formation of various alliances, alternative groups, committees, and other organizations that call themselves democratic, in quotes, in some parts of the country inaugurates the right to the introduction of a multiparty system at a suitable moment.

Regardless of the fact that these organizational forms are now being presented as forms of political pluralism, and regardless of the fact that they are placed within the SAWP, as is the case in the SR of Slovenia, it is nevertheless more than clear that they move along the way of forming political organizations or parties parallel to the LC, and even in opposition to it.

On the other side, the opposition to overcoming the crisis, and the inefficiency of the system's institutions in overcoming the differences and attaining unity in the LCY and the country, are the starting points that strengthen the consciousness which prefers the option according to which it is high time for matters to be taken in hand and put in order, in quotes, through the LC or somebody else assuming a command position.

Trust in the LC and almost all the leaderships in the country is declining. This tendency did not start yesterday. It has been caused by the unfavorable economic and political situation in the country and the deep crisis that has been going on for almost a decade.

I think that there is no longer any excuse for failing to do everything necessary at this session, and we should even resort to radical solutions in order to ensure the course of the unified action of a unified LCY in the struggle for preserving the integrity and stability of the country, the course of strengthening the equality, brotherhood, and unity of all peoples and nationalities, the course of overcoming weaknesses and strengthening the unity in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and the course of overcoming disharmony and drastic differences among republican and provincial LC leaderships.

[Words indistinct] cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. This cadre renewal has also already been carried out to a certain extent in other LC leaderships, above all in the central and provincial LC committees. True, this has been done to different extents and of different qualities, and in some places this renewal was accompanied by violent resistance.

Significant cadre changes have been carried out in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and its Presidium, as well as in some other bodies. This was done in a regular, democratic, and statutory way. This cadre renewal has undoubtedly entailed some new qualities and has made it possible to work in a different and better way. Along with the process of differentiation, this cadre renewal has to a considerable extent removed the stigma from individual leaderships in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

We are of the opinion, however, that a radical cadre renewal needs to be carried out in the entire LCY structure and that this should be done in line with its reform and renewal. Such a radical cadre renewal is no longer possible within the framework of existing statutory provisions, but should be prepared and carried out during the preparations for and organization of the 14th LCY Congress.

When evaluating the situation in our country and republic, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee assessed that the LCY Central Committee should decide at its session today that urgent preparations for the 14th LCY Congress should be embarked upon immediately and that the congress should be held this year.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee is of the opinion that there are many facts that speak in favor of starting such an initiative. What is primarily involved is that conditions are ripe for reaching a unified view and attitude in the LCY concerning the way it will overcome its own crisis and enable itself to lead the struggle of all progressive socialist forces toward finding the way out of the crisis. This cannot be done without holding the congress.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee has decided to suggest that the LCY Central Committee examine the possibility of convening and holding the 14th LCY Congress first and then the republican LC congresses and provincial LC conferences. According to (?our) assessment, this could be very important and would not interfere with the democratic nature of the preparations and mobilization of the membership and with the quality of the overall process of establishing stances and policy, in favor of which the 14th congress will decide. On the contrary, the direct participation of the grassroots in preparing the congress would open the possibility of changing the relations that generate federalist tendencies in the LCY and permanently weaken the unity among its ranks. To a certain extent this would probably change the relationship in which the most strength and political energy was wasted in the process of preparing stances, talking about them, and fighting about how to formulate them, instead of organizing and carrying out the action and persistent struggle to carry out the policy established at congresses.

Moreover, the 14th LCY Congress should be the congress of the LCY reform, which would require a change in its organization and action. It would be only logical for these changes to be carried out after the LCY congress and not before it.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee has decided to start the preparations for the 10th Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Congress immediately and to support the initiatives already voiced in Bosnia-Hercegovina to the effect that extraordinary elections in the sociopolitical organizations should also be held. Thank you.

Lazaroski Addresses Session

AU3001195489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Speech by Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] Today's session of the LCY Central Committee is undoubtedly a struggle for AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], a struggle for Socialist Federal Yugoslavia, a community of equal peoples and nationalities. At the same time, this is a struggle to arrive at a modern society, a society of the 21st century, a society with dynamic material and an all-around development by means of profound reform.

However, Yugoslavia today faces many dangers because of growing nationalism and divisions based on this nationalism, divisions that led to hatred and a return to the old model of Balkanization.

Are we as the LC remaining silent observers or participants in the destruction of the unity of the country? Will we allow ourselves to be overpowered by some kind of insane political alternative which is in deep contradiction to the character and achievements of the National Liberation War and revolution, AVNOJ Yugoslavia, and the revolutionary and workers class essence of the LCY? I think not.

We have no right whatsoever to allow this, and especially to take political, moral, and historical responsibility for turning this Central Committee into an open stage for the [word indistinct] of national bureaucracies and politocracies independent from the ideological or political veil behind which they conceal themselves. There obviously are such attempts.

It must be clear to all of us that the struggle for Yugoslavia cannot in the least be won with political games, and even less through opting for the obsolete dilemma over civil democracy or state socialism, particularly when it is realized that extremely unacceptable concepts of interethnic relations in the SFRY are hiding behind all these ideological options.

The ones most often offered among these as opposites are: on the one hand, separatism with a (?conservative) setup in the country and, on the other hand, historical, already outmoded centralism and unitarism. This essentially involves nationalist concepts which all lead to the destruction of the SFRY. It is quite clear that Yugoslavia can only be a federal community of equal peoples and nationalities, as the single solution for all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and for each of them individually.

The First LCY Conference and the 17th session of this Central Committee represented a grain of hope for the creation of a Yugoslav synthesis for the effective resolution of social problems. However, subsequent events, seen as a result of our relations, quickly melted the incipient optimism for a possible positive solution. Confrontations on interethnic and interrepublic bases increased, which led to a very delayed search for a united solution to efficiently conducting economic policy. This was a result of a reduction in competence in the conducting of economic policy and the inappropriate powers of the FEC and other federal organs, as well as the permanent nonimplementation of the minimum of measures which were painstakingly agreed on.

Inflation therefore increased, the standard of living fell to unbearable limits, thereby preparing an entire environment for various forms of destructive activity, for the spreading of retrograde consciousness, and for stoking up the already great and justified dissatisfaction of the working people and citizens in the country.

The situation in Kosovo continues to worsen. The conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session are not being implemented, and measures of political and other responsibility are lacking. Instead of offering solutions, the LC has become entangled in its own federalization and is increasingly dissolving into parties of national entities, without an ideological or political platform for the mobilization and guidance of the critical energy of the members and the workers class to find a way out of the crisis.

This has been and remains the basic reason for the crisis in relations within the LC, for the profound blocking of its actions, and for pushing the LC to the periphert of events and transforming it into a factor of stagnation and social deformations. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, as well as the central and provincial committees of the LC, can least be exempted of responsibility for these problems. However, this responsibility must be established concretely and with good arguments to show who is responsible, to what extent, and for what.

In stressing this, I proceed from the fact that the roots of our differences are deeply embedded in the socioeconomic system of the country. It is no secret that many economic decisions at the federal level are adopted on the basis of the so-called relationship of forces, and not on the basis of clear criteria and principles serving the most favorable variation for a joint socioeconomic development of the country; that the economic functions of the sociopolitical communities, from the commune up to the federation, are not only overemphasized but are also not properly distributed so as to enable an efficient macroeconomic policy to be conducted; that the concept of the autarky of the communes and the republics as territorial political units disintegrates the country and increases the conflict to the utmost; that the communes and the federal units are placed in a position in which they think more about redistributing the social product than about increasing it.

These problems must be solved through an economic and political system reform. In the opposite case, national bureaucracies will continue to cover up their own faults, blaming other nations and other parts of the workers class for the plundering of their nation and their workers class through various transfers of income, for the fact that others live at their expense, and preventing them from bringing about a faster development.

In other words, unless we carry out social reform, we will always have an economic basis for an increase in national conflicts, mutual accusations, and national intolerance. Theses about some peoples allegedly having greater self-awareness than others will continue to be launched, and it will continue to be alleged that some people met with historical injustice when, under certain circumstances, they became mixed up with less self-aware and less capable people.

With the reform of the economic system, we have announced and begun a part of the necessary changes. But this has not been accompanied by a profound intervention in the political system. Without a reshaping of the macroeconomic functions of the federation and the federal units, without a so-called reorganization of the state, the stances of which we set at the 19th LCY Central Committee session, there is not much chance of success for the economic reform.

How long we needed to begin the economic system reform is well known. Will we again need so much time to comprehend what should be changed and when in the political system and, within this framework, in the election system, the judiciary, the functions of the sociopolitical organizations and communes, and the like? In fact the question of the fate of the present economic reform appears, unless we accept the necessity of simultaneous changes in the political system of the country, particularly because we still lack a concept or a unified political platform for changes in the political system. In fact we have only two bare phrases, the reform of the political system and the reform of the LC.

Under such conditions, what is our political and other responsibility for the fate of the country? If some people are responsible for creating the crisis, we are responsible for blocking the solutions, for irresponsibility of this kind, for political shortsightedness which does not see the processes in the world and does not see the significance of social integration.

Therefore, I believe that this Central Committee should today request the LCY Central Committee Presidium to begin preparing the ideopolitical platform for the LCY's work on changes in the political system. It must be clear to us that, under the present political relations in the country, with all the defects of the economic and political system, it is illusory to expect that inflation will be reduced and the fall in the standard of living of working people and citizens will be stopped on a lasting basis.

Moreover, at today's session we must adopt a short and specific political platform for LC action at this particular moment, a platform which will be a starting point for the behavior and activity of all its leaderships and members, a platform on which the responsibility of this Central Committee and its Presidium will be built and realized, and on which the present conflicts in the LCY will be overcome.

This means that we must establish the substance, forms, and methods of the LCY's political action as it is adjusted to the current political situation, and thus democratize the political arena to carry out the three reforms and unconditionally strengthen the Communists' responsibility for the Yugoslav synthesis of ideas, interests, and changes, and prevent an escalation of various kinds of problems and clashes in the country.

This political platform must reaffirm the statute machinery and the principles of the organization and activities of the LCY, and especially the principle of democratic centralism. This is particularly important from the viewpoint of clarifying the political problems and conflicts in the LCY, and establishing ideopolitical responsibility. Finally, this political platform must overcome the state of widespread opportunism in the LCY, and even fear and impotence in changing it.

Although the LCY has been promoting democracy and responsibility as its own policy and credo for years, its impotence negated precisely these principles in practice or, to put it mildly, it distorted them. Is it still not clear to us that solutions cannot be found in verbal proclamations, in various models of party negotiations and contests of territorial-political partnerships, forced national homogenization, and so forth? Is it not clear to us that this only gives rise to conflicts in the LC and that all this leads to its disqualifying itself?

At the session today, we also cannot remain without an answer to the question of the widespread occurrence of different interpretations and formations of the system of socialist self-managing democracy. We must say clearly that socialist self-managing democracy implies pluralism of self-managing (?interests), including self-managing political pluralism. One must also quite clearly state what forms of expression of self-managing political pluralism we stand for.

The First LCY Conference decisively stood for the development of self-managing political pluralism (?within) the SAWP and for a deep democratization of social and political life on this basis. This means that we decided in favor of a deep penetration of (?socialist) self-managing democracy through a fuller manifestation of the pluralism of self-managing interests as the socioeconomic and political content of this democracy.

Within these frameworks we also decided on a comprehensive transformation of the role and the manner of activities of the SAWP, the Trade Union Federation, and other social organizations, and especially a transformation of the LCY. In order for this transformation of the LC to be effected, a renewed unified platform must be reached, a platform that will respond to the challenges of time, that will open new horizons in the development of socialist self-managing democracy, and that will offer a basis for a modern organization of social work. A delay in this transformation is inadmissible.

At the session today, we must precisely set down the position that the organization and manifestation of political interests directed toward negating the foundations of our system of socialist self-management are unacceptable. The LCY must be ideopolitically united and efficient both in rejecting the demands for a multiparty system and as regards bringing back a system of party-state monopoly. Both are not only a negation of socialist self-management, but also mean a step backward.

We speak a lot about nationalism, but we cannot merely warn in a concerned voice against the danger of all aspects of nationalism and their destructive activities to interethnic relations in the country. As regards interethnic relations, we are in a social situation in which every member, organization, and organ of the LC must specifically take responsibility for the fate of the SFRY as a community of equal peoples and nationalities.

Therefore, I want to present the firm and united stand and demand of the Macedonian LC that it strengthen and establish the responsibility of the LC for the preservation and development of AVNOJ principles, national equality, and the federal character of the Yugoslav community. The national equality and the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities are the foundation and condition for the survival of the SFRY and each of them individually. This is a result of their joint revolutionary struggle and togetherness, decided by fate and bloodily confirmed through history. Therefore, even today, together with the support and demands sent to today's session, the majority of Communists, working people, and citizens in the country are expressing their energetic revolt against national divisions. The historical lesson and the increased nationalism today irrefutably show that the divisions are always and without exception created on the basis of the interests and intentions of foreign forces and conquerors, or on a class basis.

Therefore, the Communists and working people and citizens in the SR of Macedonia energetically reject nationalism and the national division in the country. On this basis, they reject the increasingly frequent speculation in some parts of the country to the detriment of the national, social, and political essence of the Macedonian nation. In rejecting this, they are aware that this is an integral part of hostile platforms for the destruction of the integrity of the SFRY.

This is pointed out by the writing of some of the information media in the country on the SR of Macedonia as an artificial creation, a bankrupt nation, a conservative environment, and an anti-Albanian community. In fact, the essence of the political trends and relations in Macedonia is the exact opposite of this. That is, this involves an intensive struggle by the Macedonian LC against bureaucratic, (?statist), voluntarist, and dogmatic forces and tendencies which began as early as 1982.

Even an open scenario has recently been offered, as well as a deadline for the general political destabilization of Macedonia. Certain negative phenomena were recently encouraged on this basis. The Macedonian LC Central Committee and its presidium have pointed out the essence and aims of these phenomena several times. Unfortunately, in the communities in which they are produced, nothing has been done so far to eliminate or prevent this speculation.

I particularly want to underscore that the Macedonian Communists and the Macedonian people firmly and unhesitatingly link the question of their own national equality and social freedom and orientation for socialist and self-managing development with AVNOJ principles, with the full national equality of fraternal Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and their unity in the Yugoslav federal community.

There is no price that the Macedonian people would not pay to ensure these achievements and such a future. With a special point on the agenda at today's session, we stressed once again the importance of carrying out the cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. Partial implementation, formalizing, and delays in the implementation of these tasks can lead to further harmful consequences for the ideopolitical activities and efficiency of the Central Committee and especially its Presidium. We must not permit this [words indistinct] to ensure that the places in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium be filled. This is a condition for a faster stabilization of the overall situation in the LC and in the country, and for good quality in the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the Macedonian LC Presidium assessed and proposed that the 14th LCY Congress be held before the statutory date. The problems which we are discussing here today are sufficient reason for this.

Sipovac Gives Address

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[Speech by Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 30 January—recorded]

[Text] The processes which have been started during preparations for the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, as well as the tasks and decisions adopted at the conference, represent a definite break with the characteristics and substance of the policy that failed, with the creation of a new policy. During the discussion at the conference, and in the adopted documents, we achieved full unity in our orientation to quickly resolve the Kosovo drama, to constitute the SR of Serbia as a state in its entire territory, to realize the real essence of Vojvodina's autonomy, to strengthen unity and togetherness, to improve cooperation and the integrational ties in the SR of Serbia, to strengthen brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia, and to find a quicker way out of the economic crisis.

Constitutional composition of the SR of Serbia as a unified state and self-managing community, the reform of the economic and political system, the renewal—that is to say, the transformation of the Vojvodina LC on the starting points, ideas, and aims of a Yugoslav character—and a struggle for a resolute turnaround to permanently stabilize the situation in Kosovo are the key and complementary priorities of the Vojvodina LC's action today. They were unanimously accepted and adopted at the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC.

The democratic spirit demonstrated at the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC, the rich and substantive discussion, the numerous good proposals that are important for the transformation of the LC and for starting to overcome the crisis, are unprecedented in the modern history of the LCY.

The victory of the antibureaucratic revolution in Montenegro this January, the unmasking of Bosnian bureaucracy involved in the Agrokomerc and Neum affairs, and many other abuses, and following a turnround in the SR of Serbia in the fall of 1987, opened new room for democratization of our society and fruitfully presented itself at the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina LC.

The coalition of national rulers at the republican, provincial, and federal levels has suffered a strong blow. After abandoning the economic reform in 1965, national rulers applied the principle of divide and rule and in this way destroyed Yugoslavia as a federation which was heading in the direction of a lose confederation. They broke the unified Yugoslav market through the national economies of the republics and provinces and created a situation in which national elements dominated class elements.

The so-called consensus economy served as a good excuse for exerting their total control over the economy and other noneconomic sectors. What emerged was polycentric statism based on the self-will of these politocrats which made this country heavily indebted abroad, led to many bad investments, enormous internal debts, growing bureaucracy in all sectors and at all levels, the enormous issue of bad money, financial indiscipline, and the disturbance of law and order.

Nationalist and separatist tendencies culminated in Kosovo, where Albanianization took place with the purpose of creating an ethnically pure Kosovo. The economic crisis demonstrated its increasing proportions through galloping inflation,which endangered the existence of a large number of citizens of our country, including the unemployed, pensioners, as well as those with employment. The federal leadership has demonstrated complete inability to curb inflation.

The tragedy of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and the legal inability of the SR of Serbia to prevent the genocide of Albanian nationalists in a part of its territory led to mass meetings of solidarity throughout Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina. The rallies exerted pressure on the federal organs to perform their constitutionally and legally defined obligations. The pressure of the dissatisfied people, who were not able to act through the alienated institutions of the system, resulted in the federal coalition of national rulers who, frightened by the people and workers' protest in front of the SFRY Assembly, started to apply the principle of divide and rule in order to remain in power.

The fact that the SFRY Constitution of 1974 divided Serbia into three parts and transformed it into a constitutional invalid had to result in the mass dissatisfaction of the Serbian nation because their republic was not equal to the republics of our other peoples.

The lack of readiness on the part of the Yugoslav state and party leadership to curb the counterrevolution in Kosovo poured fuel on the fire of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples' dissatisfaction. Instead of trying to curb the encompassing crisis that is threatening Yugoslavia and its reputation in the world, the Yugoslav party leaderships are contributing to the further deepening of the crisis through its inefficient and insufficient activities. This had a crucial influence on the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, causing it to call for an extraordinary congress and the replacement of Stipe Suvar in his position as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

It was charged that all the demands be carried out democratically in accordance with the LCY Statute. I think we should not speculate about this any further. This completely justified demand was followed by extremely tendentious and completely false presentations of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC. The unsubstantiated attacks on the leaderships of the SR of Serbia, which expresses the true interests of its people in the struggle for its equality in Yugoslavia, as well as of all other peoples and nationalities who care about the survival and progress of our country as a community of equal peoples and nationalities, for democratic socialism, and all those reforms without which we cannot overcome the crisis. [sentence as heard]

The stories about putches in Novi Sad and Titograd that were directed from Belgrade, the stories about neo-Stalinism and various other inventions belong to the arsenal of the dirtiest methods used by certain national rulers in order to stop the process of democratization in our country and the emergence of an able, younger cadre who favor reforms. It apparently is not clear to them that the Montenegrin and Vojvodina people removed themselves from their bureaucratic leaderships, that all Communists, workers, and citizens of Vojvodina, the members of all peoples and nationalities who have been living in harmony, brotherhood and unity, and togetherness for years, unanimously said that Vojvodina would not be separated from its republic and Yugoslavia again, and that they see their future only in Yugoslavia as a country of equal peoples and nationalities within it.

The LCY reform that has been announced should make possible a full democratization in this organization and prevent any possibility of being a mere instrument enabling certain groups, alienated from the party members and the people, to cling to power. Had it been so, I am certain that we would never have fallen into such a crisis.

Comrades, it is the historic obligation of this Central Committee to critically review its work so far and the work of its Presidium. The interests of our workers class, our peoples and nationalities, and of our common state, impose the need for a self-critical approach in revealing all the shortcomings. If we want to be a leadership of the people and not an alienated center of political power, we must put the interests of the people and of Yugoslavia above our own interests. If we do not do this, the people will not forgive us, and it is the people who are the sovereign power in this country.

If numerous and in many ways different countries of Western Europe can unify more and more in the economic, political, and other aspects, why can such a process not begin in our country, which has marked its 70th anniversary? Let us make possible a radical cadre renovation according to the will of the people. In this way we will begin implementing the reforms which have been spoken about a lot so far but about which nothing has been done.

Instead of division, we are beginning to work on uniting our country on the basis of the reform of the economic and political systems and the affirmation of economic and political democracy. This idea dominated at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC and prevailed in all its proposals and conclusions.

All the different stories serve only to throw dirt in the eyes of the people so that we can hide our own responsibility before the people for the Kosovo drama and for the threatening economic breakdown and every other breakdown of our country, upon whose foundations the lives of millions of our people and the ideas of the greatest minds which have lived in this area are built.

Comrades, if these negative trends of disunity in the LCY continue, they will bring us bad luck.

Debate Continues 31 Jan

AU3101090489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] The 20th LCY Central Committee session is under way. Here is our reporter Kosta Krajincanic to tell us about the debate at the moment:

The 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum resumed work at about 0845. The LCY Central Committee Presidium was holding a session until then. Since there are 25 more Central Committee members to speak on the first item of the agenda, that is, the political situation in the country and the relations in the LCY, the time allowed for each speech has been shortened to 10 minutes. Milan Pancevski, Drago Sofranac, Martina Kolar, and Dusica Danilovic have spoken so far and Nikola Jovanovic is speaking at the moment.

Here is one point from the debate so far: Drago Sofranac demanded that the Central Committee Presidium and its president, Stipe Suvar, be called to account because of, as he put it, their wrong political assessments of Montenegrin events.

There is another point I would like to remind you of: The second item on the agenda which is expected to be discussed at about 1400 [1300 GMT] will be the examination of cadre questions, that is, working groups reports and suggestions for establishing the ideopolitical responsibility of some Central Committee members.

Let us remind our listeners once again that Belgrade Radio will report on the session in special reports, the first of which will be carried at 1000 [0900 GMT].

Druzic Appeals to Milosevic, Suvar

AU3101154989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Speech by Ivo Druzic, member of the LCY Central Committee on the 2d day of the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] We have been talking about two lines in the LCY all the time, and are doing so at the moment as well. One is self-managing, another one statist, one is federalist and another unitarian, one is centralist and another separatist. How long will this go on?

Therefore, I would like to speak at least a little differently today. I am not a professional politician, I am an ordinary member of the Central Committee, and I feel the human need to address the two people who are now key people in the leadership, Comrade Suvar and Comrade Milosevic, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

For I have a feeling that leaderships in the country, including even the LCY Central Committee, have increasingly started to resemble two trains with open wagons and Comrades Suvar and Milosevic are the engines for these wagons, that is, trains. Until recently, these trains were on more or less parallel tracks and were heading in the same direction, so one could jump from one to another without any consequences. Nowadays, however, each one is pulling the train in a different direction and we, the Central Committee members, are more and more in a position to straddle two currents trying to discern the Yugoslav communist line.

I do not want to preach, and I have no right to lecture because I myself am also to blame. Simply, I must tell you something because you are my comrades.

Why do you, Comrade Slobodan, need to have seven headlines or articles attacking Comrade Suvar in a single issue of POLITIKA? Why do you, Comrade Stipe, need to send messages to Comrade Milosevic via the television when we have this place to speak to each other face to face?

Comrade Slobodan, some people praise you to the skies as the real Yugoslav Communist, and some consider you a Serbian nationalist and a fighter for a greater Serbia that will swallow the Provinces of Montenegro, Bosnia, and Macedonia, and thereby rearrange Yugoslavia. I do not belong to either of these. On the contrary, I think that you are a capable politician, and for that very reason I want to tell you what I agree with and what I don't.

First, Kosovo: We all used to sweep this Yugoslav shame under the carpet a little. Thanks to your speeches and perseverence, Kosovo is a joint Yugoslav problem today more than ever.

Second, and connected with the previous one, comes the constitutional position of the SR of Serbia and its right to be constituted as a united community over its entire territory. Your personal contribution in this is also great.

The third thing is the question of the capability of the leadership. It is rare that the same leadership that brought the country into a crisis is entrusted with solving it, such as was the case with the Yugoslav leadership, the long-term stabilization program, and the 12th congress. It was an unprecedented case when virtually the same leadership, only partly renewed, received a vote of confidence at the 13th congress. Moreover, this leadership managed to flout the grassroots' unified demand for more candidates to be nominated, for open lists, secret votes, and so on.

Comrade Slobodan, you were among the first to realize that some of the officials who are to blame will not step down by themselves and that one should go to the people and use the force of the people's protest to take power away from officials who do not want to leave of their own accord. [words indistinct]

However, I think that the people's justified rage must be turned into democratic elections, the competition of programs, the nomination of more candidates than are to be elected, and secret ballots. If this is not the case, the people will be tricked and will find themselves in the same position with the new bureaucracy on their back: Instead of Peter, Paul will sit on their back.

The points where we fail to understand each other or where we disagree, Comrade Slobodan, are some aspects of the relations in the party, especially interethnic relations.

In the proclamations that I had the opportunity to read in your program—your interview to NIN and your speech at the Belgrade meeting—you mostly speak about present and future times, but you also seek your basis in our past. That is good. Tito is not mentioned in your interpretation; Tito's Yugoslavia is mentioned only once.

Let us get it straight: I do not think that Tito is an icon that one should always swear by, or that he was without sin. The point here is that Tito is socialism, new Yugoslavia, and self-management. Tito has simply become a mark according to which we find it easiest to recognize each other politically.

Second, in these proclamations—and I do not know about other ones—you speak about Yugoslavia, Socialist Yugoslavia, but until yesterday I did not hear you mention the word federal.

Three, you talk about the need for Serbia to be harmonious, and you are right in this. You only talk about the harmony of Serbs, but Serbs in the SFRY have not only the SR of Serbia as their state but the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the SR of Croatia. Therefore, if there is no Tito and no federation but there is unity, then what kind of Yugoslavia are we talking about? I am glad if your speech yesterday means that some things are changing in this respect and are becoming clearer.

Four, there is Kosovo itself. You, Comrade Slobodan, are in your third year as president of the Serbian LC and one of those most responsible for the situation and party action in Kosovo.

Working groups of the Serbian LC cover every Kosovo commune. I am personally convinced that this is a question of good people, Communists who do not spare either time or effort. people are literally dropping on their feet, and normal members of the LCY Central Committee are responsible for kosovo. And what are the results?

Serbs and Montenegrins are turning to working groups and the Albanians to the provincial leadership. We note here that the divisions are getting deeper and the situation deteriorating. Along this road, the matters are logically leading to a dissolution of the party organization in Kosovo and to a military administration. If need be, we will use this means, too, without hesitation, but with the awareness that the problem can thus be postponed but not solved.

The only way [illegible] to turn to the Albanian masses, to win them to our side, and to separate them from the irredentists. I must ask. Considering that this concerns citizens of the SR of Serbia, and you, Comrade Slobodan, are the top republican official, why don't you go among the Albanians? It was excellent that you responded to the workers of Rakovica, but why did you and Comrade Suvar not visit the workers of Trepca when they invited you?

And finally, why do you allow democratic centralism, the basic principle of the functioning of the LCY, to be publicly violated? In the preparations for this session, some officials in the organs of the LC of Serbia stripped the LCY Central Committee of any legitimacy by asserting that we cannot adopt decisions because of the LCY Central Committee members that have been named, that have resigned, (?or are under arrest). This means an advance proclamation that there is no obligation to carry out any conclusions that we adopt, regardless of what they are.

Comrade Stipe: I was among many who supported your speech at the 17th session. I support that speech now, too. I am doing this for reasons of principle. Nobody can dispute your exceptional knowledge of the political situation in Yugoslavia, and your true Tito-like attitude toward equality and the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities. One cannot dispute your adherence to principle in the struggle against nationalism, for you have proven yourself in the struggle against nationalism in your own nation. Therefore I cannot accept, and I reject, the unprincipled attacks on you that are beneath any human dignity and that go so far as to link you with irredentists and ustashas. Such attacks are unacceptable.

However, stances are one thing, and their realization is another. Unfortunately nobody among us, including you, Comrade Stipe, has particularly distinguished himself in this respect.

At the 17th session I voted for the presidency for two reasons: first, because your report was a strong encouragement to the realization of the stances of the 13th LCY Congress and the First LCY Conference; second, because after the Presidium's session in Pristina [on 11 October 1988] when it waited in vain for the arrival of one of its members and then continued its work as if nothing had happened, was virtually politically liquidated by this very fact.

As we know, by a secret ballot the LCY Central Committee returned the authority to the Presidium so that it could carry out the conclusions of the first conference and the 17th session. You, Comrade Stipe, (?in fact) received a mandate to organize the implementation of the conclusions. And what happens? There is no implementation of the conclusions, and instead of their realization we get assessments about disunity, a differing line, no respect for democratic centralism, and a blockage of the Presidium.

Thus we not only are unable to realize our own conclusions but lack the strength to say why. Who prevents and blocks the implementation of the 17th session conclusions? Which leaderships and which officials?

They are cutting your head off here today, Comrade Stipe, and you lack the strength to call a spade a spade as you have promised.

Perhaps you are angry, comrades. I did not want to insult anybody, but I have had enough. I have had enough of our talking in codes, wearing kid gloves, here in public yesterday and today, but ruthlessly kicking each other in the shins under the table. I have had enough of our sitting on a cart careening into the abyss and doing nothing to stop it, but instead hitting at each other.

I want something different because I know that this Yugoslavia can again become a decent place to live. This will happen when the SFRY, above all, recognizes man as an independent economic and political unit. Then the Croats and the Serbs and every other people will rise on the scene. The indications of such strivings are included in the reform laws that have been adopted and were explained the day before yesterday, or on Saturday, in the views of the new premier, so there is no need to repeat them.

To conclude, these premises must be reinforced with such facts in material development that will, on the basis of economic criteria, strengthen internal Yugoslav unity and open Yugoslavia to the world at the same time. In the next 10 or 12 years, Yugoslavia can build 4,000 to 5,000 kilometers of superhighway. In addition to the brotherhood-unity superhighway, and an Adriatic superhighway to open Yugoslavia to summer tourism, one should open it to winter tourism with a superhighway from the Slovene mountains through Kupres and Jahorina to Zlatibor, Kopaonik, Sar Planina, and Zabljak. Skopje should be linked with Kotor, Nis and Pristina with Dubrovnik, Belgrade with Makarska, Maribor with Split, and Ljubljana with Rijeka.

In these 10 or 12 years, yugoslavia can adapt 2,000 kilometers of railroad lines for trains running above 200 kilometers per hour. It has the possibility to regulate, drain, and irrigate some 400,000 to 500,000 hectares of land in the valleys of the Vardar, the Morava, and the Sava, and through genetic engineering to create the preconditions for a doubling of agricultural production and its exports through tourism.

We have the professional and other requirements for all this, and we have the interest of foreign capital in communication links and tourism. Communications and tourism may earn us between $10 to $15 billion a year.

Along with an independent, market- and export-oriented development of social and private agriculture, Yugoslavia could achieve a social product of $8,000-$10,000 per capita by the year 2000.

As a Communist I not only believe that this is possible, but as an economist I can also argue that this is feasible, unless everybody pulls in his own direction. As a man, I am willing to fight for such a Yugoslavia without respite.

You two are at this moment the men with most authority in the LCY. Much depends on you. Let us work together. I ask you as comrades. If need be, let as sit in session as long as 5 days. Let us us clear everything up, but let us then get on with the work together.

Somebody has said here that people must eat. Do not bring this Central Committee into a situation that it will have no choice at this or some subsequent session.

Milosevic Answers Druzic

AU3101162989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at the LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, I want to say immediately that I am not angry with what Comrade Ivo said a minute ago. On the contrary, I think that Comrade Ivo had good intentions when he asked some questions, but he not only asked them. In some questions there was also, I would say, a mistaken view and criticism of some processes in Serbia about which something quite specific should be said. However, as far as I can remember I would say several words about some of the questions about which Comrade Druzic spoke a minute ago, as far as I can remember.

First, as far as these engines and who is driving them is concerned, I want to say immediately that these are not personal but political issues, and when we are talking about the policy that I support, this is the policy of the Serbian LC and not my personal policy. I would also like to immediately add that I am convinced that it is also the policy of the LCY because this is a policy of brotherhood and unity, equality, and the struggle for Yugoslavia, for socialism, for a solution to Kosovo, and for a way out of the crisis. If I conducted my own personal policy and not the policy of the Serbian LC, then I would not sit a single day as the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee—then I could certainly sit somewhere else.

As far as Kosovo is concerned, the real question the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium actually asked 2 years ago, is one of the united front of Serbs and Montenegrins which is now on the agenda. At this moment and in recent months, we have in fact been in conflict with those in the Kosovo leadership who did not want this united front. I in fact said yesterday that the first positive changes have come about that will create conditions for us to retaliate against the counterrevolution in Kosovo. In any case, you heard what Comrade Morina also said about this.

Therefore, these are the conditions under which we can work after the leading posts are abandoned by those who regarded the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins as illegal gatherings against the system, and not the gatherings of desperate people who had to defend themselves, to defend their bare existence, to ask for the solidarity of all peoples and nationalities, all citizens of Yugoslavia because their basic human rights were threatened. Now, when these conditions have been created, we have opportunities to act and I am convinced that every good-intentioned and progressive Albanian will understand that the policy conducted by the LC of Serbia is in the interest of all people in Kosovo, in the interest of Albanians as much as it is in the interest of Serbs and Montenegrins. In this sense nobody should worry about to whether we are there, or there sufficiently in every respect.

The next question is that of unity in Serbia, of history, and what the present and future will be. Unity in Serbia is not a function of the past but of the present and future, because we need unity to overcome the crisis.

A few minutes ago Comrade Druzic, and before him Comrade Lolic, raised the question of homogenization in Serbia. I think that this also needs to be fully clarified, that we need to clarify what this is all about because the criticism of the process of homogenization, and the extent to which it can affect Serbia are to a great extent, i would say, at variance with the real facts, and therefore cannot be accepted.

The homogenization in Serbia did not take place on a national basis. One could say that there was a significant homogenization of all citizens of Serbia. As is known, these citizens are not all Serbs, especially in Vojvodina and Belgrade.

At the same time, I would have to ask the critics of homogenization: What is bad about the homogenization of nations and people in general if it is carried out on the basis of just, humane, and progressive ideas and is connected with one's own interests, but is not to the detriment of others? Is this not the meaning and aim toward which humanity has always been striving? Hopefully the purpose of the human community does not lie in being unhomogenized and disunited, even when its strivings are progressive and humane.

Comrades, unity in Serbia has not been established on hatred of innocent people, but on solidarity with the nation's victims. It has not been achieved in the struggle against the interests of other nations, or the interests of other people, but in the struggle for its own interests, the realization of which does not endanger anybody else, at least not anybody who is honest, well-meaning, and oriented toward Yugoslavia and socialism. This unity has not been established against socialism and Yugoslavia, but in favor of socialism and Yugoslavia. Therefore, what is involved is the positive, progressive, humane, and historically justified unity of not only one people but the majority of citizens, something which usually happens when a people or a society finds itself confronted with injustice and with the need to eliminate this injustice.

I think this is clear to every well-meaning person today, just as I think it must be clear that after the positive changes I mentioned, including the big positive changes in the Vojvodina LC, the behavior of the LC of Serbia will in every respect serve to strengthen Yugoslavia and socialism and to perform tasks in finding the way out of the crisis. I also think Serbia will make its full contribution to solving our problems equally with other republics, without thinking that it deserves more or fewer rights, obligations, and responsibilities than the others.

Suvar Replies to Charges

AU3101184989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Reply by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Vojvodina LC conference charges, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] Every LC member is liable to be criticized, and every LC member is also liable to be called to account. This also applies to me in the position I now occupy, just as it applies to every party member. The extraordinary conference of the LC of Vojvodina also demanded this, and it was joined a few days later by the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and in the meantime or prior to it, also many party leaderships and party organizations in Serbia. In Montenegro I noticed, if I have been following properly, only the Radoje Dakic party organization as having done so, and a few party organizations in Vojvodina, but considering that the conference adopted this, Vojvodina is not even important in the sense of whether the organizations there join subsequently or in advance.

The term dismiss [smeniti] is used, and the phrase, or relieve [razresiti] is added, but let me say by the way, this is not even important. The party statute does not recognize the term to dismiss, but it does recognize the term to relieve.

If the procedure of relieving me from the Presidium, as president, the Presidium being the executive organ of the Central Committee, is initiated and this proposal or demand by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC is addressed to it, I would like to make a remark, and therefore I have announced that I will address the Central Committee so as to answer to it as regards the decision on and the pronouncing of ideopolitical measures. I do not answer to the Presidium.

If the Presidium, for instance, through a possible procedure decides to relieve me, I will accept this as a moral act. According to the statute, however, only the Central Committee can hand down an ideopolitical measure. Article 57, paragraph 4 of the LCY Statute says, I quote: the responsibility of an LCY Central Committee member—no additional office of any kind in the Central Committee is mentioned—is determined by the LCY Central Committee which pronounces an ideopolitical measure. Other organs and basic organizations may submit their opinions and proposals for broaching the question of his responsibility.

Therefore, what the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC demands is in fact addressed to this Central Committee, although it is formally addressed to the Presidium.

Second, now that I am talking about the statute [words indistinct], this statement that Comrade Korosec has read says that the discussion at the conference with its course and the opinions and assessments expressed—this is to say, both views and assessments were expressed—on my work, conduct, and moral image, and on this basis it is requested, or it is said that it presented the arguments supporting the demand for a dismissal. [sentence as heard]

The arguments in this paper are only those that Comrade Korosec has read. I repeat them so that you may hear them once again:

In view of what happened to the position of the former Vojvodina leadership and what happened in Montenegro between the October demonstrations and the replacement of the Montenegrin leadership, it is absolutely clear, this is asserted by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC and it adopted this as an official document, that an unprincipled political coalition had really been formed in the highest LCY leadership—the highest leadership of the LCY between the two congresses is this Central Committee. We in the Presidium asked whether they meant the Presidium, but considering that they did not write that down, it refers to the Central Committee—in which Comrade Stipe Suvar also took part. This indicates that I, or rather it is asserted that I, too, am a member of the coalition, perhaps even the chief member. Let those who wrote this interpret it as they like, but it is quite certain that a coalition is not composed of one member. It must be cleared up how many members there are and who are the members of this coalition, and so forth.

It is then said: this crucially contributed—this coalition, this fact that a political coalition, an unprincipled coalition, exists in the highest LCY organ—to the further break up of unity in the LCY.

This is to say that the coalition in the highest organ, which has Stipe Suvar as a member, is accused of having crucially contributed to further breaking up the unity in the LCY.

Moreover, it is also absolutely clear—it is absolutely clear, you see, and these are the arguments that you have heard, at least the arguments that have been cited. [sentence as heard] These are arguments and I do not know to whom it has ever been absolutely clear without citing on which basis it is clear.

Not even in the Middle Ages, did it occur to the (?well-known) bishop (?Dr Maza) to say something like that.

Moreover, it is also absolutely clear that, with his assessments and views, Comrade Stipe Suvar contributed to a confrontation between the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, that is, a confrontation between the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples on the one hand, and the Macedonian and Serbian peoples on the other.

Then the passage on responsibility for Kosovo follows. I will not talk about this today, I will talk about that when I talk about the general situation in Kosovo, as I have the right to give the final speech. Perhaps I am guilty, but it is easy for the Presidium and this Central Committee to establish whether there were any delays or tactical games at this time after the 17th session. That is easy to establish. Everyone has the right to think and to assess, and criticize, but the facts should be established.

And now for me to return to what this claim is based on. I am not familiar with other arguments, but I know about quote unquote this argument which spread through an unprecedented propaganda campaign in one part of the country in the last 10 or 15 days. I am not bothered by those who produce the campaign and who write and speak in this way. However, every person, especially if they are in the same position as me, must be hurt by the fact that every day millions of people have listened to the most vulgar lies. One of these is a well-known man of our 20th century who said that famous sentence: Repeat a lie 10 times, and the 11th time it is (?the truth).

Now this is what is known to me, let them present other arguments. For now this is the argument, in quotation marks. They present four points on which [words indistinct], apart from the one about delay concerning Kosovo, which we will put aside for the time being.

One is the pure invention of one individual, voiced at the actual extraordinary conference of the LCY. I can only say that I feel deeply sorry for this man and that I understand him to a certain extent because of the circumstances in which he found himself. I would say nothing about that.

Apart from that, there are three of my statements which are used in these accusations and these demands. I have distributed copies to the members of the Central Committee and you all have them, you received them in the mail. However, I am not sure that all members of the Central Committee have read these while following the discussion at this session because it looks as if it is futile to distribute such things. Certain members of this Central Committee continue to claim what they claim, as lies have been accepted. This is what I have said and this is what I am ready to answer for.

This involves three of my statements, which I cited in my introductory speech. Two were at the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and one in the SAWPY Presidium.

I took part in the Presidium session of 23 November 1988, and spoke last, which is how I am supposed to conduct the session, about the situation in the LC of Montenegro and about the problems the Montenegrin Communists face. What started a broad campaign, namely, the fact that I praised the Montenegrin leadership for its obedience and, as you can see from the statement of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, that with my assessments and views I contributed to the confrontation between the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, cannot—you all have the text of the shorthand notes—be applied to any sentence, to any paragraph I said at that time, other than to the following:

It appears to me that the LC of Montenegro has, despite everything it faces today and regardless of the fact that the Montenegrin Communists are in a difficult position, and they are certainly in a more difficult situation than some other national and social communities in our country, and regardless of being exposed to great temptations to exert their influence, to do what they should do according to the program of their organization, the LC in this republic, despite all this, has a relatively great influence and, I would say, (?well-preserved) authority. This was even the case when its organizations and leaderships were exposed to sharp criticism, which is otherwise characteristic of the temperament of the speaking ability of the Montenegrins themselves.

The fact is that the Montenegrin LC, at least according to what I know about it and [words indistinct] if we claim that today, and I would say that this is a virtue, belongs to the most disciplined parts of the LCY in the real sense of the word. The Montenegrin LC did not cause or is not causing any special problems for the LCY, at least in recent times. Up to now, Montenegro has not had its mass national movements. It is too small for them. It did not have the euphoria of national and similar homogenizations either. It was not the battlefield of any especially great tremors that would have a destabilizing influence on the entire country. However, to some extent this summer and fall were an exception, but I think that this is being overcome despite all the difficulties. I said this on (?23 November). And this is the basis for the accusation, because I supported the Montenegrin leadership— I did not mention this leadership, I spoke about (?the Montenegrin LC)—and because I caused the Serbian and Montenegrin people to quarrel. I did say that in Montenegro there (?would be) a fierce struggle between the partisans and chetniks and (?presumably they did not like this). If there is something else disputable in this speech (?you have everything in front of you).

My other speech in the Presidium referred to the situation in the LC of Macedonia. A campaign of enormous proportions was started saying that I accused the Serbian people of doing various things to the Macedonian people. I said the following:

Nothing else can be disputable in this speech, not even this, but what I am going to read is the only place that forms the basis of the accusation, false statements, and lies, (?do they not)?

It appears to me that in Macedonia the subject of interethnic relations is sensitive in view of both history and the present time because throughout their history the Macedonian people were threatened and are to some extent threatened today, by nationalisms in the four nations that surround Macedonia. I am not talking about nations but about nationalisms in them. They are: Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Albanian. These nationalisms have not run out of breath in history, nor in the everyday politics concerning international (?circumstances). Greece does not want to recognize the Macedonian nationality. Bulgaria also does not want to recognize the Macedonian nation, not so much [words indistinct] but in negating the very existence of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

Then, Albanian nationalism has a plan to increase interference and [word indistinct].

Serbian nationalism of a classical type has demonstrated itself through the failure to recognize the autonomy of the Macedonian church for 2 decades or so, and through the removal of plaques at the Prohor Pcinski Monastery, and so forth.

I could have said more, but I only said that it was nationalism of a classical type, and I linked it to the Serbian orthodox church. Did I mention the Serbian people? Did I stir up a quarrel between the Serbian people and the Macedonian people, I beg you?

I must say that I was pleased and satisfied with a NOVA MAKEDONIJA commentary carried the day before yesterday, under the title Classical Nationalism in Vestments. This commentary says that I have openly presented the proper situation and facts, and here I am quoting on the basis of (?a clipping from) NOVA MAKEDONIJA.

NOVA MAKEDONIJA further points out that some newspapers published in Serbia have carried several articles and interviews with various philosophers, sociologists, scientific workers, and church dignitaries who consider the existence of Macedonia in general as a Comintern solution, and thus negate the existence of the Macedonian people and dispute its national autonomy.

It would be normal that, after the publication of such and similar theses, opposite reaction and dissociations appear, not to mention [words indistinct] historically obsolete theses that (?are) unfortunately (?heard) even after the postwar development of many years. However, no newspaper or journal of public forum in the SR of Serbia has done this.

This referred to two of my speeches in the Presidium. Let me say another thing. When speeches are made in the Presidium, it may be a closed session or it may be an open session [words indistinct], one must not lie and fabricate. If one wants to criticize a man, one must first state what he said, and criticize afterward. One must publish it, read it, present it on television. There you are: Suvar said this. It is even recorded on videotape if the tape has not been erased in the meantime, for I have some experience in these matters with some television stations.

All right then, put it on the screen for the people to see: There you are, he said this, we accuse him because of it. And let me then bear responsibility like anybody else in such a situation. I said these things in front of 23 of us; if we were not all present, there were 19, 20, or 22 Presidium members present. Nobody among the Presidium members made any remark about either the first or the second speech right there on the spot.

Let me add, by the way, that I am in a very responsible position at the moment, and have been so for the past 6 and ½ months of my term. Let me quote the statute again: It is the right and the duty of an LCY member to present his critical opinion on all political questions and problems, on the conduct of other LC members, on the stances and work of every LC organ and its members. An LC member expresses this criticism in the basic organization and in the organs of which he is a member, or at other organized gatherings in the LC, but not outside them. He is obliged to explain his assertions—I did as I did—and an LC member cannot be politically called to account for criticism and opinions expressed in this connection.

My third speech was in the SAWPY federal conference Presidium. This was on 12 January, the day after the 2-day mass meeting in Titograd ended with the submission of resignations by all the leaderships and leaders that were demanded at the meeting. I am an ex-officio member of the SAWPY Presidium, and Comrade Colakovic asked me (?on the spur of the moment) to report briefly on the situation in Montenegro to the Presidium members. I in fact said, why should you not do this yourselves in the SAWP? But they said, you are a Croat and you are in the SAWP, we are all collective members.

So I thought to myself: All right, we had a Central Committee Presidium session a day earlier, and we discussed this. I was also at a session of the SFRY Presidency, where I am also an ex-officio member, and I attended there, too. So I thought to myself, I am the best informed after all. But in the Presidium I restricted myself to saying something briefly. It was all recorded, I have checked and the tape has not been erased yet, thank God, it has been preserved. So I said what caused the accusation that I insulted the Montenegrin people, that I called them the street, the mob, the clique.

No, my speech contains neither the word people nor the word (?mob). What has caused the furor is just this:

In connection with what happened in Montenegro, and earlier in Vojvodina, and it may happen elsewhere, I personally think—surely I have a right to an opinion, surely I have a right to the freedom of opinion—that we in the LC must say loudly and clearly that meetings should not replace party leaderships.

I was not speaking about the people or the mob, I was speaking about meetings. And I added: We must say what the conditions are for the LC's functioning, so that the people—the people, in the positive sense of the word—that gathered in any way and for any reason whatever, will not regard the party leadership as a sort of government.

Then, one knows, LC members from the basic organization up to the leaderships decide on the party leadership or any segment of party life. This is one of the lessons that we must openly discuss in the LC.

Korosec Addresses Plenum

AU3101172789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Statement by Stefan Koresec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 31 January—recorded]

[Text] As regards the demand which the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference addressed to the LCY Central Committee Presidium that Stipe Suvar be replaced, that is to say relieved of his duty the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Presidium concluded that this initiative is legitimate. However, this initiative, like all other initiatives concerning the question of accountability, also needs to be explained and properly substantiated. The demand states that the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC provided supporting arguments, but these do not actually exist in the demand. The Presidium concluded that the initiative will be discussed when the supporting arguments are forwarded to us. Some disputes arose about certain formulations, but in order for the Central Committee to have a clear picture, I would like to read the supporting arguments of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee on the basis of which the LCY Central Committee Presidium formulated its views. Let me read the supporting evidence: In view of what happened to the position of the former Vojvodina leadership and what happened in Montenegro between the October demonstrations and the replacement of the Montenegrin leadership, it is absolutely clear that an unprincipled political coalition had really been formed in the highest LCY leadership, in which Comrade Stipe Suvar also took part. This crucially contributed to further breaking the unity in the LCY. Moreover, it is also absolutely clear that with his assessments and views, Comrade Stipe Suvar contributed to a confrontation between the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples on the one hand, and the Macedonian and Serbian peoples on the other hand. The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is most responsible for the delays and tactical games in the implementation of the adopted political decision, established stances, and ideopolitical orientations on resolving the situation in Kosovo. We agreed with the comrades from the Vojvodina LC that they will supplement their supporting arguments, that they will send us the supporting arguments on the basis of which we will initiate a procedure in the Presidium.

2d Day's Proceedings Reviewed

LD3101152589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 31 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee continued its 20th session in Belgrade this morning with a further confrontation of stands voiced by the divided party leadership.

All speakers declared the struggle for Yugoslavia as their goal, but different opinions were voiced on the causes of the crisis and ways to overcome it.

Contradictory opinions were voiced on party head Stipe Suvar's opening statement as well as on the demand of the Vojvodina party's special conference for a special LCY congress and Suvar's dismissal.

Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) are prepared to defend Yugoslavia's integrity together with other progressive society forces, but are not prepared to defend individuals, groups or their narrow interests, Rear Admiral Stane Brovet said.

"We in the Army favor a true federation based on the principles of AVNOJ (new Yugoslavia's first parliament formed during the war in 1942) and a full implementation of reforms to preserve our self-managing socialist system. We also favor paving the way towards a more democratic and richer socialism with a modern market economy," Brovet said.

Milan Pancevski, LCY CC Presidency member, assessed that neither the federal nor republican-provincial forums were aware of the possible consequences of the current situation in the country.

We obviously have not done enough, and have at times even consciously checked some progressive processes, Pancevski said. He called on all CC members and all Yugoslav Communists to "abandon their narrow interests" and to "quieten their passions," to oppose bureaucratization and nationalisms of all kinds, especially of the separatist type.

I oppose the dismissal of Stipe Suvar because I do not accept the way the campaign against him is being waged, Franc Setinc said in the discussion. Setinc resigned last autumn from his post as LCY CC Presidency member because of disagreement over the Kosovo problem.

Dusan Ckrebic warned of the problems of achieving Yugoslav unity at the economic and political levels. He said the new government should create room for reform within the new constitutional solutions, including establishing an equal position of Serbia in relation to the other republics. He said the party reform would be the most complex part of the social reform in Yugoslavia.

Special Congress 'Almost Certain'

LD3101235189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2309 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—It is almost certain that Yugoslav Communists, for the first time since coming to power in 1945, will hold a special congress later this year.

This conclusion may be derived from today's debate on the political situation in Yugoslavia at the 20th plenary session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee. The special congress has been demanded by some party organizations owing to a grave crisis in the party and the country.

Originally, the session was to last one day. This evening, at the end of the second day, it is clear that it will be extended by another day.

This fact indicates the seriousness of the situation in Yugoslavia. One of its crucial causes is a discord and even conflict between leaders, as was openly stated also in today's debate.

Ivo Druzic from Croatia, for instance, firmly called on current LCY leader Stipe Suvar and Serbian party chief Slobodan Milosevic to "bury the hatchet" and enable the party to seek a way out of the crisis.

The impression is, however, that neither Suvar's nor Milosevic's reply held promise of responding favourably to Druzic's appeal, at least not for the time being.

The problem with the Yugoslav leadership is all the more complex and acute as it does not boil down only to (?a Suvar)-Milosevic conflict. It is further complicated by conflicts between other federal and local leaders who still cannot find a common language.

Tomorrow's resumption of the LCY Central Committee session, which has already stirred passions in the Yugoslav public to a considerable extent, is awaited with still greater interest.

Plenum Resumes Work 1 Feb

LD0102083289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0733 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—In the SFRY Assembly building the 3d day of the 20th party plenum session has begun. The basic theme is the country's political situation, relations in the LC, and the work and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Presidium. At present another six Central Committee members are scheduled to speak, while 76 members of the top party forum have already spoken in the previous 2 days.

During the remainder of the session the Central Committee will consider several cadre changes in its composition.